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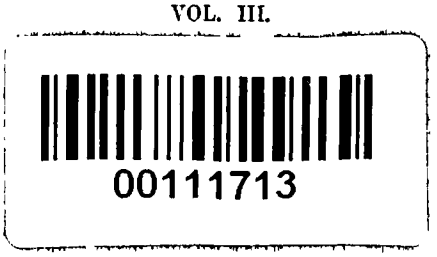

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PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ERLANGEN.

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SECOND DIVISION. HALF-CIVILISED AND SAVAGE RACES.

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CHAPTER II.—THE RACES OF ASIA AND POLYNESIA.

A.—THE UGRIAN-FINNIC-TARTAR GROUP OF RACES.

§ 261. *Ethnographical and Historical Sketch.*

THE Iranians in their remote and legendary antiquity (§ 224), in addition to the Semitic tribes inhabiting the banks of the Euphrates, had as neighbours other two nations, the Salm or Sairimians, and the Turanians. The former are the Sarmatians and Sauromati, both of which designations are connected together as Salm and Sairim, and so may be identified with the Slavs. The Turanians are found first of all to the east and south of the Sea of Aral and around Lake Balkash, where under the names Turan, Turkestan, Turkomania, the old designation is still retained.

A. Although the present inhabitants of East Turkestan are correctly represented as of Aryan extraction,[1] belonging to the Iranian stock, yet of the Turanian origin of the Tartar races there can be no doubt. After the Tshu-king dynasty of the Chinese, there was the Turanian family of Yuchi, which, about B.C. 150, descended from the north upon Bactria and Yarkand, and made subject to them the Iranians dwelling

[1] Robert B. Shaw, *Journey to High Tartary, Yarkand, and Kashgar*, 1871, chap. ii.

there. From the mixture of the two there arose the Uzbeks, who, as a settled and agricultural people, were called Sarti. The pure Tartars, who have maintained the nomadic habits of life, were called Kirghis, embracing the tribes Kazak, Kiptchak, Kari-Kalpak, and that of the Kirghis in the narrower sense. But tribes of a like form and descent inhabit those vast steppes in the north and east of Turkestan, which are usually designated by the generic name of the Kirghis-steppes. To these tribes belong the Kalmucks from Mustagh, the Dulans from the Akmetshet Lake, and a portion of the inhabitants of Dzoungaria, south-east from the Balkash Lake, east of the Thian-Shan mountains.

B. But it is now discovered that far in the north and north-west, and even in Europe, there are peoples tribally and linguistically related to these Tartars. When the Hungarians, about A.D. 950, appeared on the borders of Europe, they were designated Turks by the Byzantine writers, because they came from Turkestan. The present Hungarian language is, in fact, most intimately related to that of the Turks, who about A.D. 1400 rushed down from Turkestan, founded in Further Asia the Turkish Empire, and in 1453 took Constantinople (see *Obs.* 1). In this way the Tartar origin of the Hungarians is proved.

C. If, now, we go back to the appearance of the Hungarians in history, Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 950), a contemporary, relates that the Hazara tribe of the Kabars was joined with the Hungarians. But the Hazara, according to Hunsalvy's[1] happy suggestion, are identical with the Akhaziri, of whom Jordanes, writing in A.D. 570, gives an account, and in the Kabars we recognise the name of the Avars, who were spoken of by Theophylactus Simakotta, in A.D. 580, as an Ugrian race, consisting of three tribes, Uars, Vars, and Huns, a portion of which in Justinian's time founded the kingdom of the Avars on the banks of the Theiss and the Danube. Roman and Byzantine writers, however, designate these Avars

[1] Hunsalvy, *Reise in die Ostseeprovinzen*, 1873.

as Huns. The chiefs of the Avars were called Chagans, and Eginhard speaks of *Chagani et Jugurri* as *missi Hunnorum*. It is thus made apparent that from one and the same mother-tribe, the Ugilans (Ogori, Jugurri) or Hazara, which had its home on the Volga and Kama, first of all the Huns, about A.D. 375, then the Avars about A.D. 740, rushed down upon Europe, and from Turkestan about A.D. 950 there came the Hungarians. All the three were Turanians, that is, they belonged to the Tartar races.[1]

D. As there is a linguistic relationship between the Hungarians and the Turks, so is there also between the whole circle of those races now extant in Asia and Europe and these two races, especially the Hungarians. These are the Tsherimis and Mordvins on the Volga, the immediate neighbours of those Hazara, the Zirianians, the Permians, the Votiaks on the Dwina and northern Kama and the western slopes of the Ural mountains; also the Suranians, Voguls, Ostiaks, Tshudes, hunting tribes on the north of the Urals, round the Sosva, Konda, about the Obi down to Tobolsk and even to Irtis; likewise, the Finns, Esthonians, Livonians, and Lapps (see *Obs.* 2); finally, the Russian Tartars, those of the Crimea, Kazan, and the Obi, along with the Bashkers, the Yakuts, Teleuts, etc.

E. But also the Samoyed family, of which the greater part occupies the north of Siberia, and a smaller part, including the Koibals, Soiots, Motors, Kamassintzi, the south of Siberia, speaks a common language, which is so closely related to that of the Tartars, that even these tribes must be regarded as belonging to the Ugrian-Tartar group. Among the northern Samoyeds are included, the Samoyeds proper, the Ostiaks of the Narum and of the Yenesei, the Assans, Karagassans, Gorales, and other Yenesei tribes, the Kottovs, Arnizians, and Tubnizians, and the Tshuktshians on the north-eastern corner of Asia.

[1] Constantinus Porphyrog. relates that the Hungarians and Hazara were able to understand one another's languages.

F. On the other hand, the Tungus, in the south-east of Siberia, among whom are included the Mandshus, in the north-east of the Chinese empire, seem to be a race partly Mongolian, partly Tartar.

Obs. 1.—Words which in Hungarian and Turkish are pronounced exactly alike, such as *kulta*, gold, *rauta*, iron, *miekla*, sword, etc., are less decisive, because they might have been introduced among the Hungarians from a foreign language after the date of their subjugation under the Turks. This is less probable in the case of words like *atra*, plough, *leipa*, bread, *kakra*, oats, *ruis*, rye, *multa*, dust, etc., which designate things which the Hungarians could not have learnt to know first from the Turks. Those words, again, are quite decisive as evidence of the original linguistic relationship of these races, in which transmutation according to a fixed law takes place; for example, in Turkish a *z* takes the place of what was originally *r* in the Hungarian. Thus, *e.g.*, we have the Hungarian *borju*, Turkish *buzagu*, a calf; *terd*, *diz*, the knee; *ir*, *jaz*, to write; *bor*, *boza*, drink; *karó*, *kazik*, stake; *ökör*, *ökuz*, an ox; *iker*, *ikiz*, twin; *gyürü*, *jüzük*, a ring, etc.

Obs. 2.—In order to render perfectly clear the relationship of the Finnic-Esthonian and the Hungarian language, we may here append a few examples.—

Moon,	Finn. kua	Esthon. kuu	Hung. ho				
Fish,	„ kala	„ kala	„ hal				
To die,	„ kuole	„ kool	„ hal				
To hear	„ kuule	„ kuul	„ hall				
Wood,	„ puu	„ pun	„ fa				
Morsel,	„ pala	„ pala	„ fal				
Cloud,	„ pilve	„ pilve	„ felhö				
Wife,	„ puole	„ poole	„ feleség				
Old,	„ vanha	„ vana	„ vén				
Blood,	„ vere	„ vere	„ ver				
World,	„ valkea	„ valge	„ vilag				
Water,	„ vete	„ ved	„ viz				
Eye,	„ silmä	„ silm	„ szem				
Heart,	„ syöm	„ suäme	„ szív				
One,	„ yhte	„ ühd	„ egy	Vogul,	äkve		
Two	„ kahte	„ kahd	„ kett	„	kitt		
Three,	„ kolme	„ kolme	„ harom	„	horom		
Four,	„ nelja	„ neli	„ negy	„	nilä		
Five,	„ viite	„ viid	„ öt	„	ät		

The members of the Finnic group generally may be arranged as follows:—Finnic, Esthonian, Livonian, Vespian (that is, North Tschud), and Votian; and to the Ugrian group belong, the Hungarian, Lapp, Vogul, and Tsheremisic. For the languages of the Samoyeds, Tshuktshians, Mandshurians, etc., we may

compare the following words: Eye, Samoyed *saima*, *saiwa*, Ostiak *sai*, Kurile *sik;* sea, Finnic *jaka* (flood), Tshuktschian *ajam*, Koriak *uuem;* wood, tree, Ostiak *pob*, Samoyed and Tshuktschian *pfa*, *ua;* stone, Hungarian *kö*, Finnic *kiwi*, Koriak *guwwen*, Ostiak *kei*, Turkish *quaja;* son, Hung. *fiu*, Ostiak *püwo*, Kurile *poo;* brother, sister, Hung. *nenem*, Samoy. *nenja*, Koriak *ninichsch.* On the relation of the Mongolian languages to the Ugro-Finnic, see below at § 264.

Obs. 3.—The Ugrians or Ogori are still met with in Genghis Khan's time under the name of Uigrians to the east of the Balkash Lake. D'Hossom, *hist. des Mongoles*, vol. i. p. 107 f.

§ 262. *The Religion of the Finnic Tribes.*

While we have no information regarding the earlier form of religion prevailing among the Asiatic races of the Ugrian group, and while, in that which is now preserved among them in the way of religious conceptions and customs, so far as they have not come under the influence of Islam, we see before us only a picture of religious decay, we are, on the other hand, fortunate enough to be in possession of information regarding the Finns and Esthonians from the date of their conversion to Christianity, which affords us an accurate picture of their religion. And this picture is anything but an attractive one. In general, their enumeration and conception of the gods (as already J. Grimm had remarked) corresponded to those of the Germans and Celts; only among them these notions are found in a more primitive stage. While among the Celts and Germans the godhead had been already formally dismembered into a multitude of distinct individual deities, there still continued among the Finns and Esthonians, first of all, a mode of thought corresponding to that of the oldest Vedic religion, according to which the gods of heaven were only forms of revelation of the one God; and secondly, from these gods of heaven the inferior deities, in a way somewhat similar to that in which the Iranians spoke of the Yazatas and Ahuramazda, were sharply distinguished.

The appellative term for God, which has also been carried over into Christianity, is *jumala*, Esthonian *jumal*, from the

verb *jum*, Hungr. *vim*, etymologically identical with the Old High German *wihi*, *wihjan* (see *Obs.*). The verb *jum* means to pray: *jumala* is he who is prayed to, one who can be worshipped. But the supreme god was Taara, Esthonian Tor, Lapp Toraturos, with the predicate *vana-isa*, old-Father. In name he corresponds to the Celtic thunder-god Tarani, the Norse Thor, but not in nature. For Taara was quite essentially regarded and worshipped as creator of the world, and indeed as the invisible; and a multitude of very beautiful Finnic and Esthonian legends, which are to some extent current among the people to this day, refer to this position of his. There are Taara mountains, Taara groves, Taara oaks. Dorpat, too (Tar-to), has its name from him. Three yearly festivals were celebrated in his honour; where, by opening the vein in the fourth finger, blood was offered him, and in doing so the words were uttered: "With my blood I name and mark thee; with it I mark my house, that it may be blessed." In a quite similar way this sacrificial custom existed among the ancient heathen Hungarians. In this there was present not merely the thought of a gift to the deity from whom men had received their blood and life, but also there was bound up in it that of a sin-offering and expiation; for the pagan Esthonians characterized their Taara-faith, in opposition to the *munga-usk*, monkish faith, that is, Christianity, as *lepingu-usk*, expiating faith.

Besides Taara, they had also a second god, Ukko, the Ancient (Esth. Köu), who was the god of thunder and lightning, of rain and fruitfulness. When it thunders, the Finns of the present time still say: Ukko pauhaa, the ancient rolls. Every village had a Uku kivi (Hung. Ukko köve), Ukko stone, whereon in spring offerings of seed, and in harvest offerings of grain, were laid. But Ukko also had this same cognomen of *vana isa*, old-Father, as well as Taara, and the name Taara itself signifies the thunderer.[1] It

[1] This circumstance decides against any sort of notion that the name Taara was derived from an ancestral hero of the Turanians. The

was therefore one and the same old-Father who thundered as Ukko the ancient, and as Taara, the thunderer, created the world. Only when this is recognised is the sameness of name for him with the German Donar and Thor, and the Celtic Tarani, rightly explained. The thunder-god of the Ugro-Finnic race was not regarded as distinguished polytheistically from the creator of the world as a separate individual deity, but as the creator of the world himself under another form of manifestation.

From him, however, three inferior deities were very decidedly distinguished. They occupied an intermediate position between heaven and earth, and were endowed with the qualities of mythical champions or heroes rather than those of the gods properly so called. 1. VANA-MUINE (Esth.) or WÄINE-MÖINEN (Finn.) is the contriver, and so the god of art, especially of music, but also of wisdom and magic. Once on a time men and animals were gathered together in the Taara grove to learn a heavenly festal speech. Vana-muine descended in a rushing of the wind, touched the strings, and sang. Then the streams ceased to flow: all things listened. But now men learnt the art of song; the trees caught only the gentle murmuring sound, the streams only the rustling of his garment, the woodpeckers only the creaking of the strings beating upon the lyre, the fishes, whose ears were under the water, only the dumb movement of the mouth. 2. ILMARINE is the discoverer and god of the art of forging. 3. Then alongside of these two there appears LÄMMEKUNE, without any other predicate than that embraced in the name.

These are, as we have said, mythical figures rather than

derivation of the old onomatopoetic primitive root *tar*, *tonar*, is much nearer the mark, all the more as we find among the Celts and Germans, among whom there is no trace of a descent from a patriarch Tur, that the name of the thunder-god of heaven is derived from the same primitive root. From this, by necessary consequence, it follows that the ancestor-gods among the Finns are distinguished sharply and consciously from the one god as inferior deities.

gods; for they are wrapt up in legend. The present race of men, it is said, was preceded by a race of giants, begotten by the sons of the gods, who came down to earth and associated with the daughters of men. One of these giants was KALEVA (Finn.) or KALEV (Esth.). An ancient epic among the Finns and Esthonians, Kalevala (Kalevapoeg), relates how Kaleva sailed in a ship over the Baltic Sea, seeking his mother, who had been robbed and hidden away by a powerful giant; also how he, from among three virgins, Salme, an orphan, and Linda, who had sprung respectively from a hen, a crow, and an egg, chose Linda as his wife, had by her three sons, and died before the birth of the third.[1] Have we not here a reminiscence of Noah and his three sons? Kalev in the ship seeks mother earth, which is robbed and hidden, and is no more to be seen. Those giants then, who significantly enough remind us of Gen. vi. 1 ff., are designated appellatively as *väinemöinen:* the first part, *vana*, is the well-known adjective meaning old (§ 261, *Obs.* 2); but *muine* seems to be an old word for man, identical with the Sanscrit *manu*. Those who lived before the flood were thus designated as the old men. That legendary hero, Vanamuine, is therefore nothing else than one of the antediluvians, and we need not for a moment doubt that in the three legendary figures, Vanamuine, Ilmarine, and Lämmekune, we have presented to us in a quite uncontorted form a reminiscence of the three brothers, Jubal, the discoverer of music; Tubal-cain, the discoverer of working in metal and the art of forging; and Jabal, who, as a nomad, is not specially designated. The popular tales of the Finns and Esthonians point to the name of the divine or half-divine being, to whom the ancient Father has entrusted the care of morning dawn and evening twilight, the sunrise, etc., and in fact these peoples have

[1] Thus speaks the Esthonian legend. The Finnic legend gives him twelve sons, and enumerates among them Vana-muine. This evidently arose from a secondary and confused combination of different myths. Kaweh (not Kalev) also is once mentioned as Vana-muine's father, and Vana-muine is designated as father (not son) of Kalev.

worshipped deities or genii of the sun, of the dawn, etc., like the Iranian Yazatas. Their Wipune appears to have corresponded to the German Völa. A Rune speaks of a goddess Suometar as the guardian-goddess of Finnland. The Salme of the legend points to a goddess of the sea, bearing the same name (Salme signifies gulf of the sea). In legendary songs it is related how the sun as a man, and the moon, and a star made love to Salme, and she chose this latter one.[1] Koit was goddess of the dawn. Tapio was a forest god; his wife was Metän-emäntä, mother of the wood, with the surname Sinifirkku, blue-bird. Pakkainen was the god of the winter-cold; Turrisa, the god of war.[2] Particular animals, especially birds, were sacred to the several deities, and as such were inviolable. The god to whom they were sacred was supposed to be present in them, hence the stories of the old chroniclers[3] that the Esthonians and Finns had worshipped birds. Thus, in spite of that remnant of a primitive monotheism, a polytheistic deification of nature was spread in ever-widening circles. At the three chief festivals, sacrifices were offered to Taara, and to the rest of the genii of nature. Magical arts and conjurations, especially serpent charms,[4] entered into the service of the genii.

Obs. 1.—As the old primitive religion of the Ugro-Tartar group of nations is related to that of the Slavs, Germans, and Celts, so also is the Ugro-Tartar group of languages related to the rest of the Japhetic group, that is, the so-called Aryan family of languages. Notwithstanding varieties of construction, as in the case of the Basque dialect (see § 256, *Obs.* 2), they are essentially cognate. I need only briefly, by way of example, cite the following words: Finnic *kuul*, Hungr. *hul*, κλύειν, to hear; Finnic *paljo*, Hungr. *falo*, πολύς, much; Finnic *pu*, Hungr. *fu*, Sansc. *vâ*, to blow; Finnic *valkea* and *vilag*, Old High German *wereld*, world (from primitive root *var*, *val*; comp. Sansc. *Varuna*); Finnic *vete*, ὕδωρ, *udor*, water;

[1] H. Neus, *esthn. Volkslieder*, i. p. 10 ff.

[2] This war-god may be a reminiscence of the tribal ancestor of the Turanians. Turr-isa means father-Turr.

[3] For example, Adam von Bremen, in Pertz, *Monum. Germ.* iv. 17.

[4] Esthnische Beschwörungslieder, see in Neus, pp. 65–86.

nime, name; *teke*, *tev*, Sansc. *dhâ*, to do; *soo*, *suo*, sea; *Murta*, *murda*, Lat. *mordere*; *vana*, *ven*, Lat. *vetus*, old; Hungr. *fog*, Germ. *fahen*, *fangen*, to catch; *pata*, head, French *pot*, Finnic *pääkka*, Old High Germ. *pîhal*, beil, axe; *pilve*, cloud, Old High Germ. *pilipi*, nourishment, the clouds regarded as dispensers of nourishment; *edes*, sweet, ἡδύς; *haj*, haar, hair; *hajlek*, harke, rake; *fer-tö*, swamp, Lat. *pal-us*; *kät*, Goth. *handus*; Vogul *uri*, to waken, Sansc. *gar*; Finnic *ora*, Hungr. *ara*, Old High Germ. *ala*, ahle, awl; *ar*, prize, Germ. ehre, etc.

Obs. 2.—The Finnic-Esthonian myths of the creation, in the Kalev epic of Vanamuine having transformed an eagle's egg into a world, since heaven is produced from the upper half, the earth from the lower, the moon from the yolk, is an ingenious fable, rather than of significance for the history of religion, and belonging to the earlier mythology. It has its origin during a period when the remembrance of Taara was already thrown into the background by the worship of Vanamuine, and its similarity to the later Indian (Brahmanical) egg-myths of the creation is purely accidental.

§ 263. *The Religion of the Tartars.*

When we turn from the European tribes of the Ugro-Finnic group to those of Northern Asia, we meet with the tribes of the Finnic, Ugrian, and Samoyed group in Siberia, among whom not only heathenish superstition, but even, in many cases, open and avowed heathenism has prevailed, generally, however, along with a significant trace of an old religion like that of the Finns, that has been subjected to a decided religious deterioration. Most markedly have those traces been retained in the East among the Tungus and Mandshus. These believe in a creator of the world invisible to man, who dwells in heaven or in the sun. Some of their tribes attribute to him a human form;[1] others identify him with the sun itself.[2] The Ugrian tribes on the west of the Urals, like the Finns, worship the invisible creator of the world under the

[1] This human figure has in the course of time assumed once and again very different forms. The Teleutians think of God as an old bearded man, in the form of a Russian officer of dragoons.

[2] Compare Stuhr, *Religionssysteme der heidn. Völker des Orients*, p. 244.

name of Jumala.[1] The Voguls have still kept the name Torom, the Ostiaks the name Turum, Törm, Tshudo the name Tora, for their supreme god. By the Votiaks, on the other hand, Tirgani is worshipped as the sun-god.[2] Thus, in part at least, has the knowledge of the invisible creator of the world been retained, while in other cases it has degenerated into a worship of the sun-god. The Tungus worship alongside of the creator of the world a number of guardian spirits, who watch over female virtue, over children, over the chase, over herds, over health, over the rearing of reindeers.[3] But this forms the transition to the belief in spirits, the so-called Shamanism, which became most prevalent midway between the extreme east and the extreme west, between the Lena and the Yenesei, and which has completely overgrown the forms of the old religion, while even on the Ural and among the Tungus it also plays a part alongside of it. If in the Vedic religion the one God was regarded with a pantheistic one-sided prominence to his immanence as present in existence, and in the principal powers of nature, and gradually then his *πρόσωπα* were elevated into deities alongside of him, he was, on the other hand, thought of in those Ugro-Tartar religions as present in all separate particular things, split up and divided into a countless number of spirits, amid which his unity would either be utterly forgotten, or at least practically thrust into the background. In every power of nature, in every natural existence, there dwells a ruling spirit. This stage of the beginning of a belief in spirits and in natural magic we found, § 262, existing among the Finns and Esthonians; it appears at a further advanced stage in the Shamanism of the Ugro-Tartars. Because there is much of evil in the world, those spirits were regarded by the Tartars for the most part as hurtful to men, threatening evil, or more properly, unclean spirits, although they did not,

[1] Stuhr, *supra*, p. 260.
[2] J. G. Müller, *amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 57.
[3] Georgi, *Beschreibung aller russ. Nationen*, part 2, p. 380.

like the Iranians, regard the contraposition of a kingdom of good and a kingdom of evil as fundamental. To those spirits belonged pre-eminently the souls of the departed: they were thought of and feared as ghosts and hobgoblins, and Shamanism consisted essentially in the art of conjuring those spirits, and rendering them serviceable, so that instead of being hurtful, they would become useful. The Shamans did not form a priestly order. Each person of both sexes, who was thought to understand the art of conjuring the spirits, is a Shaman, or among the Tartars, Kame, as in the time of Genghis Khan among the Ugrians,[1] the rest were even then in part Buddhists. As such they wear a special dress,[2] and live mainly on gifts, which are brought them as rewards for exorcising of spirits. At night sitting by a fire, smoking tobacco and beating a drum, the Shaman falls into convulsions, distorts his limbs, roars, dances round the fire, summons the spirit to battle, puts questions to him, listens trembling and shuddering to his answer, audible only to himself, and falls at last in a state of utter prostration; the belief, moreover, prevails, that during this prostration the soul quits the body, and in the shape of animals of various kinds makes a journey to the abodes of the spirits, where they make their appearance also in the animal form (see *Obs.*). To these spirits belong, as we have said, the souls of the departed, who ramble wandering in deserts and among wastes of snow, and dwell in clefts of the rocks. The souls of departed Shamans are feared as specially powerful and malignant.

But it is not only by the incantations of living Shamans that the Ugro-Tartars seek to drive away all kinds of evil, sickness, and death, but also by magical rites which they themselves practise. In every jurte or tent-dwelling is found a sort of idol image, a small figure in human form wearing a Shaman's

[1] D'Hossom, *hist. des Mongoles*, vol. i. p. 107 ff.

[2] Long leathern robes, stocking boots, everything with wonderful magical emblems represented,—tin-plates, bells, eagles' claws, strips of skin, stuffed serpents, etc.

dress, which, however, is not at all to be described as a deity, but is simply an amulet, in which a virtue is supposed to reside for protecting against the influence of evil spirits. Especially on the east of every jurte there are two birches bound by an oak twig, and ermine skins are hung on them: this, too, is a protective amulet. And finally, in the third place, every one possesses amulets of other sorts, on which in the most senseless and arbitrary fashion he suspends trifles of various kinds, rags of red linen, bunches of horse hair, bones of animals, etc., even bells from the dress of a Shaman. The whole tribe too, as well as the individual, has its protective amulets. These are stones or stakes which are erected on heights,[1] to which every passer-by must bring the offering of a stake or stone. Evidently it is thought that good protecting spirits are associated with these stones or dwell within.

A terrible fear of one's own death prevails, just as in regard to the apparition of the souls of the departed and their corpses. At funerals various ceremonies are observed in order to prevent the soul of the departed from haunting the survivors. Care is taken not to mention the name of the dead. Particular nomadic tribes like the Iranians, and probably in consequence of Iranian influences,[2] allow the corpses to remain exposed to the air. In the east among the Tshuktshians, and especially among the closely-related Kamtshadales, a more hopeful view of death still continues along with other remnants of the old religion. The Kamtshadales fear death in no form; rather they often bring it on themselves by voluntary suicide, because they expect afterwards a joyous and glorious life.

[1] These should not be confounded with the Obos of the Buddhist Mongols, that is, earth hillocks which are erected on heights. There is evidently a certain connection between the two, and this is easily explained by the manifold connections which the Tartar and Mongolian tribes had with one another.

[2] The Tadshiks in the Government of Orenburg are descendants of the ancient Persians. Berghaus, *allg. Länder- und Völkerkunde*, v. 518.

Obs. — The notion that during this mantic powerlessness the soul had been able to leave the body and to assume the form of an animal, gave occasion to the development of this further belief, that the earlier generations of their ancestors had been in possession of this power in a yet higher degree. Thus by the Turks the form of the wolf is ascribed to the father of their race, and this legend of the Turks is to be understood as indicating that they were descended from a wolf, which is called Tsena (Ritter, *Asien*, 438; Schmidt, *Forschungen im Gebiete Mittelasiens*, Petersb. 1824, p. 70). In consequence of the close connection which subsisted in the time of Genghis Khan between the Turks and the Mongols, this legend was introduced among a portion of the latter, who designated their tribal ancestor as Bürtetschino, the blue wolf. That the legend was not of Mongol origin is shown, partly from its close connection with Shamanism, partly from the fact that the Mongols have quite another legend in regard to their descent (§ 266).

B.—The Mongolian Races.

§ 264. *Characteristics and Distribution of the Mongolian Group.*

The determining of the limits between the Mongolian and the Ugro-Finnic races is one of the most difficult and intricate points in ethnographical science. In Tibet, China, Corea, the Loo-Choo islands, and Japan, we find a race of inhabitants who show no sort of connection either in speech or in bodily appearance with the Tartars, Turks, Hungarians, and Finns. In bodily appearance those cultured races of Eastern Asia resemble one another in the yellow colour of their skin, the dark hair, the little dark obliquely set eyes and prominent cheek-bones; while, on the other hand, the races which form the Ugro-Finnic family have white skins, fair hair, inclining sometimes to red, regularly curved blue eyes, inclining to grey, and cheek-bones not prominent. Those characteristics of the Chinese and other Eastern Asiatics are found also in a leading race of Northern India, the Barmans, as well as in Further India, among the Nepaulese, and are among them, on account of a mixing

with Aryan-Indian blood that is historically demonstrable, only in a slight degree modified. In the form of their countenance the Barmans are much more like the Chinese than the Hindus.[1] Since it has been customary to reckon these tribes among the Mongolian races, we shall group them together for convenience' sake and without prejudice provisionally under the name of East-Mongolian tribes. In their languages these tribes are indeed far removed from one another. In respect of language this alone is common to all, the negative characteristic, that while there is a pretty close affinity among the languages of the Ugro-Finnic tribes, a great linguistic diversity is the prevailing characteristic of this group of East-Mongolian tribes, which have led some to go so far as to suggest that the languages are altogether of an isolated character (see *Obs.* 1).

If now, however, we turn to the eastern part of the mountainous district of Asia, we meet with the Western-Mongolian group of tribes, that is, those of the Mongols in the narrower and more exact sense, and in them we have the most difficult part of our investigation. Under them the following tribes are grouped:—(*a*) The Mongols in the strictest use of the word, living between the desert of Gobi and Mandshuria; (*b*) the Buriäts and the Kalka around Lake Baikal, north of the Gobi; (*c*) the Ölöts or Kalmucks, of whom one branch still occupies its ancient home in Dzoungaria, while the other, which during Genghis Khan's lordship was resident in the North-West, now dwells between the Ural and the Volga; (*d*) the Tshatshers, far up on the north-western borders of China, and in the deep vale of Kokonoor; (*e*) alongside of the Buriäts we find also in the south-east the Mandshus, a people of Mongolian origin, with a mixture of Tartar blood; while, on the other hand, the Tungus on the north-west of

[1] *Basler Missions Mag.* 1837, p. 213. J. W. Helfer's *Reisen in Vorderasien und in Indien*, Leipz. 1873, part 2, p. 83: "A broad face with strong cheek-bones, a flat snub nose, more or less protruding lips, small grey eyes, oblique, and with a sharp upward angle, and pale yellow skin of a hue like an unripe citron." On the Carenes, see § 267, *Obs.*

the Buriäts seem to be a people of Tartar origin, with a mixture of Mongol blood. The West-Mongolian group has thus its original residence around the Baikal lake, while the original home of the Turko-Tartaric group is round about Lake Balkash.

At this point we are met by the difficult question: To what group do these West-Mongolian races belong? Whether must we assign their origin to the Ugro-Tartaric stem, or. to that which we have designated the East-Mongolian? It is only during the present century that any real distinction has been made between the Tartars and the Mongols. De Guignes,[1] and even more recently D'Hossom,[2] employ these names as synonymous terms. Scientific research regarding these has now led to the marking of a distinction between the Ugro-Tartaric races, comprising the Huns, Avars, and Hungarians, which, one after another, between A.D. 375 and A.D. 950, broke in upon Europe, following the Slavs in their movement westward; and the Mongols who under Genghis Khan Temujin[3] in the 13th century struck horror into Eastern Europe. But even after this has been settled, the question still remains unsolved as to whether these West-Mongolians should have their descent traced back to the stem of the Ugro-Tartars, or whether they should be regarded as essentially one with the East-Mongolian group of nations (Tibet, China, etc.). The Mongolian language, which seems to have an intimate connection with Ugro-Finnic-Tartaric, favours a decision in accordance with the former alternative;[4] but the bodily

[1] De Guignes, *allg. Geschichte der Hunnen und Türken, deutsch von Dähnert*, Greifswald 1769 ff.

[2] D'Hossom, *hist. des Mongoles*, Amsterdam 1852.

[3] Compare upon this, besides the two works named, *Pétis de la Croix, hist. du grand Genghizcan*, Paris 1710. Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. der goldenen Horde*, Pesth 1840. von Erdmann, *Temutschin der Unerschütterliche*, Leipzig 1862.

[4] This is the view of Schott, "Ueber das altaische Sprachgeschlecht," in the *Abhandlungen der Berl. Akad. der Wissensch.* of the year 1847, p. 281 ff.

appearance of the Mongols is in favour of the latter. The West-Mongolians are similar to our East-Mongolians in the shape of their skull, the prominent cheek-bones, the dark and oblique eyes, as well as in the yellow colour of their skin. In Dzoungaria the Tartars who are resident there (§ 261) are easily distinguishable from the Kalmucks and Tunganis[1] in bodily appearance, dress, and manners. Nobody will maintain that there is any greater similarity in bodily appearance between the Finns and Kalmucks, or between the Magyars and Mongols, than there is between the Mongols and the Chinese. But if the West-Mongolians are to be regarded in respect of bodily appearance as of the same stem with our East-Mongolian group, and consequently to be joined together with them as a Mongolian people, how then is the relationship of the West-Mongolian language with that of the Ugro-Tartars to be explained? For the case is not merely that of borrowed words,[2] but one of an actual primary relationship of the roots, at least of many roots. This phenomenon, however, is at once easily explained so soon as we take history into account.

(*a*) We know, in the first place, that Celts and Germans are two nations belonging to different groups, and yet they have many roots in their languages in common. Similarly, too, the Greeks have roots in common with the Germans, and both with the Latins; and not only so, but the Indo-Germanic languages have entire series of roots in common with the Semitic. We have a precisely similar phenomenon in the fact that a number of roots are common to the Mongolian and Ugro-Tartaric languages, and the development of comparative philology has led to the abandonment of the

[1] Shaw, *Journey to High Tartary, Yarkund, and Kashgar*, p. 28 f. The derivation of the name of the Tunganis from the Chinese *tun-jên*, military colonists, that is, Chinese, seems to me most improbable. The Taranhis among the Dzoungarians are colonists of a late period (Shaw, p. 29 f.). We must not confound with the Tunganis the Tibetan tribe of the Tanguts (called in Chinese *Si-fan*) which occupies Kokonoor.

[2] Schott, *Ueber das altaische Sprachgeschlecht*, p. 323.

narrower conception of the Indo-Germanic group, and to substitute for it that of the Japhetic group. The possibility of such an original relationship between the Mongolian language and the Ugrian becomes peculiarly feasible when we find roots in which both are related, not only with one another, but also with the Aryan, and even with the Semitic. For "mother" we have in nearly all the languages of the world the primitive root *ma*, Aryan *mâtr*, *μήτηρ*, *mater*, *mutter*, mother, Irish *mna*, Basque *emea* (wife), in the language of South Sonora *mama* (grandmother), Malayan *mu*, *amu*, *ma*, *mak*, Finnic *ema*, Mandshurian *eme*, Semitic *ēm*. Earth, *turf*, Arabic *tarbu*, Swedish *torfoa* (turf), Finnic *turpaha*, Mongolian *towarak*, Turkish *toprak*, Tungusic *tuor*, *turu*. Hand, Sanscrit *kara*, Mongolian *ghar*, Tungusic *gala*, Turkish *kol*, while in *χείρ* and in the Old Latin *hir* we have partially related roots. To take, Turkish *cap*, *tschap*, Mongolian *chab*, Latin *capio*. Cloth, clothing,[1] Semitic *buz* (Syr. *bûso*, hence Arabic *bûza*, to be white), Greek *βύσσος*, Turkish *bus*, Mongolian *bûs*, Mandshurian *boso*, Chinese *pu*. Silk is in Mandshurian and Tungusic *sirge* (raw silk, *se*), Chinese *ssé* and *se*, Corean *sîl*, *sîr*, Russian *scholk*, North-Germany *silk*, Greek *σήρ* (silk cord). For other examples, see under § 305.

(*b*) This, however, does not carry us far. We have still to account for the fact, that the West-Mongolian language is closely connected with the Ugrian languages, even in regard to words that do not occur in other tongues, and that its intimate relation to the Ugrian languages is more obvious than its separation from the East-Mongolian languages. In order to make this plain, we must keep in mind the fact that according to the original documents of Chinese history there was in the early times a dynasty of Hiang-nu, which held sway from B.C. 200 till A.D. 93, and then at a later period

[1] We do not forget that the Basques of the Stone Age had brought with them from Asia the art of weaving. This, therefore, was a common endowment of primitive times before the separation of the races.

over Northern China till A.D. 330. That this kingdom of the Hiang-nu was a Ugrian or Turanian one, can be proved from the fragments of the language[1] which are preserved in these early historical documents. Its chief, for example, had the title *tanglikutu*, which, according to the appended note of the Chinese historian, means in Chinese *tien tsse*, Son of Heaven. Now heaven is in the Ugrian language *tengri*, and son is *küto, kötti, guto*. The princes bore the title of *luli*, and in Turkish they are called *ulu*, great. The Hiang-nu were, therefore, a Ugrian or Turanian people. If, now, during those centuries the Ugro-Tartars extended their dominion eastward even to China, so that the wall of China was built to withstand their advances, it follows that while the West-Mongolian tribes in the north and west of China were gradually subdued by them, and lived for at least half a century under their dominion, there was a blending together of the two races and an intermixture by marriage, just as we find actually taking place between the Tungus and the Mandshus. That the conquered should during that half-century adopt the language of their conquerors[2] was indeed very natural.[3] After the overthrow of that Turko-Tartar Empire, the foreign speech adopted by the West-Mongolians was formed into a separate dialect, but still a Ugro-Tartar one, just as the Latin language adopted by the Visigoths was modified into Spanish; and as between A.D. 552–703 the Turks of Turkestan still continued their inroads into China, the Mongolian tribes were subject to the influence of the Ugrian tongue for nearly two centuries. We must not therefore hastily conclude for the Ugrian language of the Mongol race, strictly so called, that

[1] Schott, *Sprachgeschlecht*, p. 289 ff.

[2] Franz von Erdmann, too, assumes (*Temutschin*, p. 131 f.) that in consequence of historical circumstances the original language of the Mongols had been changed into the Turkish, but he does not enter more minutely into the subject.

[3] Schott has shown that before the appearance of Buddhism in Higher Asia, the Mongols possessed the art of writing and the beginnings of a literature. The art of writing, however, was introduced among them by the Uighurs. Pétis, p. 120 f.

they are of the same stock, for this their bodily appearance will not allow.

(*c*) When at a later period, during the 12th and 13th centuries, the West-Mongolians got the upper hand of the Tartars, when Genghis Khan subdued the nation of the Nighurs and of Turkestan, and of all Higher Asia, and led his mixed horde of Mongolian and Ugro-Tartar tribes against Europe, many words were transferred from the Mongolian dialect. It was then also developed into a distinct language, into the language of those Ugro-Tartar races with which the Mongols were now brought into connection, and those words referred to were borrowed words (see *Obs.* 2).

The correctness of the view which we have taken finds confirmation, first of all, in this, that even in religion there is a thoroughly characteristic distinction between the primitive religion of the Mongols and that of the Tartar tribes (see § 266 ff.), and that a similar distinction is observable in the languages themselves. One may already conjecture that there would be very frequently two quite different words for the same idea in the languages of the Ugro-Tartar tribes dwelling most closely to the Mongols, that the one of these words would be originally derived from the Mongolian, the other would be originally derived from the Ugrian. It is indeed quite evident that the Hiangnus may have derived their words from the Mongols, just as well as the Mongols from them. But of yet greater importance is the grammatical structure of the language. In the Mongolian, as well as in the closely related Mandshurian language, the characteristics of the Mongolian family of languages are predominant in its purer forms (see *Obs.* 1). The verb has the form of an indeclinable verbal substantive, the infinitive, while the verb in the Ugro-Finnic languages is conjugated. In Mandshurian, I stand, thou standest, etc., are rendered, *bi ilimbi, si ilimbi,* etc.; while in the language of the Tungus we have *ilitschem, ilitschende, ilitscheren, ilitscherb, ilitschesch, ilitschere.* The Hungarians and Finns have a very finely constructed conjuga-

tion, with a modification in the word to indicate the object, like the Semitic suffix of the object. While the Ugro-Tartar-Finnic have likewise a declension, the Mongols and Mandshus, inasmuch as the former were powerfully influenced in linguistic matters by the Turks of Turkestan, express their cases by separate case terms, such as man-possession for man's. In neither of the languages do we find any relative pronoun. In both the Mongolian and Ugrian languages the infinitive is freely used as a verbal noun, for example, I know thee to be conquered, instead of, I know that thou art conquered. In the Ugrian language, however, the pronominal suffix has undergone a metamorphosis in sound, so that it is conjoined with the verbal stem, while in Mongolian it continues separate. Thus, notwithstanding that the West-Mongolians of ancient times adopted the Ugrian language of the Hiangnus, yet the impress of the Mongolian tongue has been left upon the very form in which this foreign speech was adopted by them.[1]

We have now, finally, to consider the languages of the tribes that have been designated by us East-Mongolians. We have already indicated the fundamental characteristic of these as that of the multiplication of dialectic differences. This common character is shown in these three fundamental features: (*a*) a number of common roots; (*b*) a tendency to continual change of sound in defiance of all rules; and (*c*) a tendency to secure construction by the use of separate particles. These three points deserve careful consideration.

The existence of words common to all the languages is specially noticeable in the case of words indicating numbers. I select from Lüken's tables,[2] drawn up from Lassen's *Indian Antiquities* and Klaproth's *Archives*, the following list, to

[1] Quite analogous to this was the adoption of the Latin language by the Goths, Franks, Langobards, and from it, modified by the Teutonic taste and genius, the Romance languages were constructed. They did not say *amabo*, but *je aimer ai*, *amar ai*, etc.; not *amavi*, but *je amai*, and then *je ai aimé*, *ho amato*, etc.

[2] *Einheit des Menschengeschlechts*, p. 174.

which I add numerical terms from the Vogul and Tangut dialects, in order to show the distinction between them and the Ugro-Tartar languages. For an exact acquaintance with the Tibetan numerical terms I am indebted to an obliging communication from J. Th. Reichelt, missionary at Herrnhut:—

	Barmese.	Nepaulese.	Tibet.[1]	Tangut.	China.	Loochoo.	Japan.	Corea.	Vogul.
1	thit	sehi	(g)tschig	chzik	jĭ	tids, idshi	iz, fito	ho-thün	aku
2	niht	nus-ki	(g)nji(s)	ni	òll	ni, tads	ni, fi-tak	thu-pu	kit
3	ssum	suum	(g)sum	sum	sān	schan, nids	san, miz	ssai	korom
4	leh	pi	(b)schi	bsche	ssé	schen, juds	si, ioz	*nai*	*nila*
5	ngah	nga	(l)nga	rna	ù	u, *idsitzi*	go, *izuz*	taschŭ	*dt*
6	khiok	khu	d(r)ug	tschok	lŭ	rugu, nits	rok, muz	ii-schŭ	kat
7	khu-nit	nhei	(b)dun	dün	zi	*schi, nanadzii*	*siz, nanaz*	ii-kii	*sat*
8	seit	kea	(br)gjad	dsjat	pa	fúdshi, jads	faz, jads	ii-ta	nala
9	koh	gu	(d)gu	rgŭ	kieu	ka, *kogulads*	*kou, kokonoz*	ja-hao	(*kilentz*, Hung.)
10	ta-zăk	sanah	(b)tschu	zŭ-tamba	schĕ	ssa, tu	siou, towo	je	lau

The second of the words given in the columns for Loochoo and Japan represents the language of the earlier inhabitants, who were probably of Tartar blood. One pair of synonyms under the Vogul and Hungarian group represent a variety in cursive manuscripts. In the numerals for 1, 3, 9, 10, the resemblance among the East-Mongolian languages is quite apparent; in regard to 2, China and Corea go their own way; in regard to 7, the Tartar root, with the hissing sound, in Loochoo and Japan dislodged, even among the Mongolian inhabitants, the Mongol root; in regard to 8, we find no sort of agreement appearing. The perfect agreement, however, in regard to 1, 3, 9, 10, and the well-nigh perfect agreement in regard to 2, 4, 5, 6, is sufficiently striking. In regard to the Barmanic and Chinese, W. von Humboldt[2] has proved the relationship of the more important grammatical roots; the *nota pluralis* is in the Barman language *kra* (pronounced *kja*), in Chinese *kiăi;* the Barman particle *thang* (pronounced *thi*) corresponds to the Chinese *tschi, ti;* the verb *to be* is in Barman *hri* (pronounced *shi*), and in

[1] The letters placed within parentheses are written but not pronounced.

[2] *Gesammelte Werke*, vi. "Ueber die Verschiedenheit des Sprachbaus."

Chinese *shí;* the term in numeration, "piece, particular, head," is in Barman *khu*, and in Chinese *ko.*

Although in respect to other words no relationship, or only a very slight one, is discernible, an explanation of this is afforded under our second point: the free change of sounds which prevails in those languages. From the time of Khongtse, B.C. 600, or at least from the time of Shi-Hoangti, B.C. 213, the Chinese had adopted a fixed form of expression; but that the written symbol was pronounced in ancient times in a way different from that which now prevails is placed beyond dispute; just as in the provincial dialects of to-day the pronunciations vary considerably from one another. In the Barman language, which has a written alphabet, the variation in the pronunciation is regularly marked, and in their writings it is shown what an older, and that not a very ancient form, had been. W. von Humboldt has let us see how incredibly great the change from it to the pronunciation of the present day has been; for example, what is written *kak* sounds *kct*, what is written *tup* is pronounced *tok*, *re* is pronounced *je*, *hri* is pronounced *shi*, etc. Now, if we could sometimes pass over into *sh*, sometimes into *j*, *ang* into *i*, *ak* into *et*, *up* into *ok*, and if such changes were continued for four thousand years, and if this were done, as was natural, by every race in a different way, it is quite conceivable that the corresponding roots of the different languages should by this time be no longer in the least like one another.

The third point is the tendency in the East-Mongolian languages to indicate its structural modifications by separate particles. This is not universally, nor in the same way, characteristic of these languages. In Japan, where, as we shall see in § 269, the East-Mongolian or North-Chinese immigrants found before them a primitive Ugro-Tartar race, and mixed themselves up more or less with them, there is no appearance of this tendency to isolation. In Tibet, where the original Mongolian language has undergone perhaps the

least change, the use of modifying suffixes has not been altogether abandoned, but in the languages of Northern India this process has been well-nigh, and in those of China altogether carried out with the most rigid consistency. There have indeed been important and talented men who regarded this mode of grammatical construction by separate particles as the most primitive of all. In accordance with W. von Humboldt's example,[1] we feel ourselves unable to accept this view (see *Obs.* 1).

Finally, however, there is one characteristic common to all those nations of the Mongolian group, that is, their extreme national feeling, by reason of which each one of them, living on friendly terms with one another, and each in unconditional servile subjection to its own chief, is absolutely separated from all other peoples, or exercises against them in war the severest cruelties even to utter extermination.

Obs. 1.—There are two elements which the language will give expression to: ideas, and the combination of these in a judgment. For ideas it creates for itself simple words, roots, and so soon as these have once been created, they are objectively given to him who speaks as a vocabulary. The relations, on the other hand, in which certain of these ideas stand to one another in the judgment are not objectively given, but are every moment subjectively determined by the speaker. One, for example, has to relate, and for this he must first think and then speak, "his enemy has slain him;" another, "he has slain his enemy;" the one, "he will rest;" the other, "he will journey."

A. Human speech for the most part supplies words of one syllable to express ideas, though even here such have initial and final double consonants; the Semitic races have had the instinct to enlarge these roots into words of two syllables, even to split up one into more (*e.g. zûr, jazar, zarar*, comp. also § 260, *Obs.* 1), and in this way to secure a multiplicity of vocables for the expression of modifications of the idea. The Japhetic languages have made only a sparing use of the two-syllabled roots of the kind described, and show a preference for the compounding of two roots, as we have seen exemplified in the Aryan language in the pronoun; for example, αὐ-τος, Sanscrit *i-dam*, Zend *a-dem*, etc. (comp. Bopp, *krit. Gramm. der Sanskr.*

[1] Humboldt's *Werke*, vi. p. 118 and p. 196.

Spr. § 247). In order to give definiteness to a purely abstract uncertain term, as when, for example, there are roots alongside of it of the same meaning, a synonym is set down beside it, or a word indicating the next higher kind or species. This style of quasi-compounding is practised in Chinese, in the Barman language, and is employed with special freedom by the Tagals, among the Malays, and by the Aztecs and Delaware tribes[1] among the Americans. Thus, for example, in Barman *pan* means to endeavour, and *krâ* means to obtain an answer, and *pan-krâ* means to endeavour to obtain an answer, that is, to question, to ask; *lak* means hand, *tat*, to be skilful, and *lak-tat*, an artificer. The most primitive stage of all in this root construction by means of the compounding of words is seen very conspicuously in various negro languages. In the Gâ and Akra languages the theory of these compoundings forms a not unimportant part of the grammar. (Comp. J. Zimmermann, *Grammar of the Gâ Language*, Stuttg. 1856, together with its *Vocabulary*.) For example, *dshe*, to come about, to happen; *mâdshe*, to transmit (from *mâ*, to place); *ladshe*, to be lost (from *la*, to hang loosely); *kâdshe*, to lie on the back (from *kâ*, to lie); *dshadshe* (from *dsha*, to be stretched). Also *ga*, to go; *fe*, to do; *gafe*, to go in order to do. While, then, the primitive roots of the Hamitic languages were monoliteral, consisting of one consonant with an accompanying vowel, biliteral roots were formed by means of this process of compounding. Certainly in quite a similar way have triliteral stems been formed in the Aryan and Semitic languages from biliteral roots.

B. The monosyllabic or isolating languages separate the objective ideas from the relation in which the speaker places these ideas in such a way that they give only to the former a vocal garb, while the relation is expressed only by the position of the words. The Chinese language, for example, makes the governing word precede the governed, the subject precede the verb or verbal noun, this again precede the object, and this again the more remote object, while the word that has to be qualitatively determined must follow that which determines the quality. The Barman language, on the other hand, has the following order of succession: subject, object, verb, but requires the adverb of quality to precede that of which it determines the quality. For "I eat with butter boiled rice," the Chinese says, "I to eat butter to boil rice" (infinitives as verbal nouns), the Barman says, "I butter to boil rice to eat." For "I praise

[1] The Delaware language in the agglutination of suffixes divides again its compounds, and makes use of only one of the roots. For example, *wul-it*, beautiful; *witsch-gat*, foot; *k' uligat-schis* means thy dainty little foot.

him who all things has created and from sin is free," the Barman says, "All things to create then he, *thau*, sin free to be he, *thau*, I praise;" the particle *thau* serves only to bind together like a vocal comma what precedes as referring to one thing. This importance belonging to the position of words meets us also in inflectional languages, and indeed plays scarcely anywhere a more conspicuous part than in the Middle Age and modern German, where by means of the three different arrangements of the words—the direct, as "I do my duty;" the antecedent and relative arrangement, as "if I my duty do," "who his duty does;" and the consequential and interrogative arrangement, as "so loves me my father," "loves me my father?" "how loves me my father?" "inexpressibly loves me my father"—the entire proposition and the structure of the period are determined. The German language, however, and also the agglutinate languages, in which, as for example in the Massachusetts dialect, the arrangement of the words is of decisive importance, have always in addition inflectional suffixes, corresponding to the agglutinative suffixes, by means of which the relation, in which the speaker wishes the idea to be understood by the hearer, is audibly expressed and embodied. This evidently is the process that is more strictly in accordance with nature. W. von Humboldt also (see p. 118) thinks it probable "that the use of naked roots is something secondary. Originally the roots never appear as such, but clothed with the accompanying sounds which fit them to express some living relation." And at p. 196 he says: "The more primitive the languages are, the richer they are in the abundance of forms and constructions." The abstraction which separates the relations of the ideas from the ideas themselves, and analyses the latter like anatomical preparations, is quite an artificial thing, and presupposes, according to W. von Humboldt, an unimaginative and one-sidedly rational process of thinking. It is primitive and in accordance with nature, that the entire vocable should correspond to the entire mental conception, and should portray it. "Der Mann spaltet der Stamm" (the man splits the tree). As the man actually represents the agent, a primitive language will apply the term that represents the subject to one who works and acts, and will express this by a suffix to the verb and a suffix to the object, thus: "Mann-er Spaltung-thun Baum-hin (baumwärts)." These suffixes are still evidently found in the inflectional languages. The *s* of the Indo-Germanic *possessive singular* is an abbreviated pronoun *sa* (*ta*); many languages form their verbal forms from nouns by *dhâ, ta, tu*, and the accusative has still in Sanscrit preserved its original characteristic by taking a locative termination. But even this form of language is not the most primitve of all, for even it belongs properly to the inflectional

languages. The most primitive is that in which the entire conception of the action is set forth under one single complex word, in which the idea is not yet exactly determined, but has only its principal element brought out, to which the more exact determination is subsequently joined, and this is the essence of that agglutination (comp. § 256, *Obs.* 1), which we, therefore, regard as the primary form of grammatical structure. "Er spalten es, Mann er, Baum-hin." There is first of all the general notion of a splitting, then the statement, who is the he, and what is the it. That this was actually the primitive form of language we have ample proof in the fact emphasized by W. von Humboldt, that by means of the comparison of languages the pronominal roots are always found to be the very oldest and most primitive elements of the various languages and of human speech, and indeed above all the roots of the personal pronouns. In this, then, we have also a new confirmation of what we have said in § 49 about the origin of language, and against the naturalistic and materialistic explanation thereof. The origin of language is dependent upon personal consciousness, self-consciousness in the sense of § 57.

From the agglutinative stage there were two possible ways along which the course of development might be continued.

(1.) The ever-recurring pronominal suffixes of nouns of action, of verbal nouns, and the likewise recurring suffixes of direction, of names of things, might be abbreviated into unaccented terminations,[1] and thus the pronoun of the object for a noun of action would be altogether disused as superfluous. Instead of *ta-bhandsh-tam, manu-sa, druma-im,* we now say *bhandsha-ta* (later *bhandshati*) *manus drumam,* which in Sanscrit means, "The man breaks the tree." The noun of action is formed into a conjugated verb, the noun that designates a thing into a declined substantive, and thus every word of such a kind has its relation to the other words expressed in its own grammatical construction, the drawback of a slavish grammatical order of words was overcome, and that freedom of rhetorical and poetic arrangement of words secured which has been most thoroughly developed in the Latin language, and contributes so largely to the beauty and the pre-eminence of the languages of the old cultured Indo-Germanic races. The Teutonic languages, and still more the Romance languages, in their recurrence to a grammatically determined order of words, represent a certain retrogression, and in such a sentence as *c'est ce que je vous ai dit,* the French is scarcely to be distinguished from an agglutinative language.

(2.) The pronominal suffix and the suffix of direction might, instead of being abbreviated and combined with the word, be

[1] In the language of the Aztecs and in that of the Delaware Indians this process is seen in a merely initial stage.

wholly removed, and might wholly give over to the arrangement of the words the expression of the relation of the ideas with one another. Language now no longer portrays the action to him to whom it is told, but puts before the hearer only the material of the conception rationally arranged, in order that he by the exercise of reason may form a conception of the action for himself. In the language of the Barmans this process is not yet absolutely completed. It forms out of synonymous monosyllabic roots actual compounds, inasmuch as it changes the initial mute of the second word into a sounded syllable. It has also such a wealth of particles, that by means of them and of pronouns it can sufficiently and clearly express the persons, tenses, numbers, and words of the verb. The Chinese language, again, has carried out the principle of isolating, or monosyllabism, with that strict intellectual consistency characteristic of the Chinese people.

Obs. 2.—*A.* Primitive roots which occur in various families of languages:—To take, grasp: Turkish *kap, tschap,* Mongolian *ap,* Latin *capere,* etc.—Breath, life, soul, spirit: Finnic *henka, angga* (to breathe), Tsherimis language *jang* (soul), Mongolian *angki-l* (to smell, inhale), *changgu-la* (to sniff), *amin* (life); Mongolian and Tungusic *onggo-d* (spirits), *ong-char* (to recognise), *ong-si* (to rehearse); Turkish *ang* (to remember), originally connected with Sanscrit *anas,* breath, *anilas,* wind, ἄνεμος, *animus,* Old High German *unst.*—To turn, to revolve: Mandshurian *chorgi* (*gur,* land), Mongolian *chorijan,* court, *kürdu,* wheel, Susmi *ker, kier,* to move around; Hungarian *kör,* circle, *kor,* course of time, *koros,* old; Turkish *kura,* court, *kari,* old; Finnic *kääri,* to turn, *karmet,* serpent; comp. Mongolian and Turkish *ordu,* tent-circle, camp, Turkish *orta,* middle. Originally connected with ἕρκος, εἴργω, Lat. *circus,* Old High German *cherjan.*—Mother, wife: Mongolian *eme,* wife, Mandshu. *ama,* mother, *amu,* aunt, sister-in-law, *eme,* mother, *mama,* grandmother, Finnic *emi, emo,* mother, *em, im,* to suck; Turkish *meme,* breasts, Tshuvash *anja,* and Mandshu. *enie,* mother. Originally connected with *mâ* in *mâtr,* μήτηρ, *mater, mamma,* Old High German *mûter, muoter;* also with the Basque *emea,* wife.—Flame of fire, Mongolian *chaksa* hardened by fire, Mandshu. *dschak-sannga,* red, Chinese *tssé,* red, Lapp *kwokso,* down, comp. καίω.—Water, Finnic *wesi, viz, vete,* Hungarian *uss,* Mongolian *usun,* ὕδωρ, Latin *udor,* Slavic *voda,* Old High German *wazar,* etc.

B. Of such primitive roots, however, there are many which are not found in one of the two groups of languages. Thus the root that lies in חֹר, ὄρος, is only met with in the Ugro-Finnic group: Finnic *wuori,* Tungusic *uro, urjo.* So, too, the root present in the Latin *jacere,* Lapp. *jäwat,* to spread out, *jäwatak,* cushion, bolster, Turkish *jatak,* bolster, *jat,* to lie, Finnic *wuot,*

bed, *wat*, to throw, Turkish *at*, to throw. On the other hand, the roots that underlie ἐσθίειν, Latin *edere*, to eat, appear only in Mongolian in *ide*, to eat, which first passed over into Turkish and Hungarian in the Middle Ages, when it appears in Hungarian as *et*, to eat, and in Turkish as *et-mek*, bread, whereas the Ugro-Finnic languages have another root *SE*, perhaps partially connected with the former, Mandshu. *dshe*, Finnic *syö*, Yakut *se*, Tshuvash *si*. The root underlying the word to see, Goth. *saivjan*, exists only in Finnic and Esthonian *szem*, *silm* (see under *E*); in Mongolian it is wanting. On the other hand, *chiair*, Mongol. for stone, Turkish *kyr* (κόρρη, Sansc. *tschr*)—*kira*, Mongol. for mountain ridge, Mandshu. *giva*, bones, Hungarian *gerentz*, ridge of the back (Middle High German *grât*, Grat, Gräte)—*bejna*, Mongol. for sound, Latin *bonus*—*se* Mongol. for thou, Greek σύ,—are wanting in the Ugro-Finnic languages. In the Mongolian again are wanting: *kuul*, Finnic to hear, *chorwa*, ear, Ostiak *chol*, Vogul *jul*, Turkish *hulak*, and *chulga*, ear, Tungusic *korot*, ear (Sanscrit *çru*, κλύειν, Celtic *cual*, *cluinn*, Old High German *hôrjan*).

C. The verbal stems, which the Mongols in a remote antiquity appropriated to themselves from the Ugro-Finnic languages, are very numerous; for example, to ask: Mongol. *asak*, Lapp *jasko*; to flow: Finnic *wirta*, Turkish *eri*, to melt, *ir-mak*, stream, Mongol. *ur-us*, flowing water; an oath, to swear: Esthonian *wand*, Mongol. *andaghar*, Turkish *and*; fine: Finnic *arka*, tender, Turkish *aryk*, slender, Lapp *njuor*, tender, Mongol. *nar-in*, fine, wise, Mandshu. *narchun*, thin; sympathy: Lapp *njuor*, Mongol. *ure*; small: the diminutive affix *kenne*, *ken*, *kun*, *gun*, *gen*, is common to the Ugro-Finnic and Mongolian languages, as also to the Dutch; firm, strong: Finnic *jirka* (also steep), Turkish *iri*, firm, Mongol. *erki*, steep; red: Finnic *weri*, blood, Ostiak *wyry*, red, Mongol. *jurte*, to redden, Mandshu. *kira*, red.

D. Still more significant is the fact that we have a considerable number of roots and word stems which are found either only in the Ugro-Finnic languages, including the mixed dialects of the Tungus and Mandshurians, or only in the Mongolian language, and the Turkish as affected by it in the Middle Ages. (*a*) The following roots are strictly confined to the Ugro-Finnic languages:—to sing: Finnic *wiru*, Turkish *ir*; girdle, haunch: Finnic *wyö*, Turkish *ui-luk*; thief, to steal: Finnic *warka*, *woru*, Yakut *or*, Turkish *oghur*; reindeer: Finnic *poro*, Lapp *ron*, Tungusic *irum*, Mandshu. *iren*, *oron* (comp. Scand. *ren*); early: Mandshu. *nergin*, Turkish *erken*; to rain: Lapp *okte*, Mandshu. *aga*, Turkish *jagh*; to build, to adorn: Finnic *koria*, Turkish *kor*, *kurghan*, etc. (*b*) The following belong exclusively to the Mongolian languages:—Man: Mongol. *ere*, Mandshu. *eru*,

Turkish *er* (comp. Latin *vir*, Celtic *fir*, Old High German *wēr*); sister: Mongol. *eke-tschi*, Tungusic *akin*, Yakut *akas;* nose: Mongol. *chabar*, Kalmuck *chamar*, Mandshu. *oforo*, *orro*, Tungusic *ongokto*, *okto*, Turkish *murun*, *burun;* bones: Mongol. *omok*, Turkish *sümük*, *kemük*, Tshuvash *schunu*, Yakut *ungoch* (comp. Old High German *knoche*); horde: Mongol. and Tungusic *aimak;* to bury: Mandshu. *somi*, Turkish *küm;* flesh: Tungusic *ulla*, *ulta*, Mandshu. *jali*, Tshuvash *jut* (from *jult*), etc.

E. This becomes specially remarkable when it is seen that peoples who have been untouched by the Mongols actually employ another root to express the same idea. For example:— Father: (*a*) Ugro-Finnic root *ise*, Lapp *attsche*, Mongol. *etsi;* (*b*) Mongolian root *aba*, *abu*, Tsherimis and Tshuvash *aba*, mother, Turkish *baba*, father, Mandshu. *mafa*, grandmother; red: Finnic *puna;* on the other hand, Mongol. *ula-gahn*, Tungusic *kula-rin*, Mandshu. *fulgian*. Mouth: Finnic *suu;* on the other hand, Mongol. *ama*, Tungusic *amga*, Yakut *hamun*, Tirianian *wom*, Turkish *anggir*, *jangir*, and *tschangir*, to cry; to see: Finnic and Esthonian *szem*, eye, *silm;* on the other hand, Mongol. *chara*, connected with ὁρᾶν, *kara*, to foresee, Yakut *charak* (*karak*, eye), Turkish *kara*, *kür;* to eat (see above under *B*); to drink: Finnic *juo*, hence *jauma*, a drink, *ma* is the borrowed syllable, Lapp *jukka* and *tschuoke*, to soak, Turkish *jut*, adopted into Mongolian *ughu;* on the other hand, the Chinese dialects: *jam*, modern Chinese *jen*, *in*, Mongol. *um-tan*, a drink, Tungusic *omi*, to drink, with the radical *m;* to rejoice: Finnic *ilo*, Mandshu. *ilga;* on the other hand, even if originally related, Mongol. *dshir*, *ir*, Mandshu. *urgun*, Hungarian *öröm*, *örul*, Turkish *ir-mek;* heaven: Finnic *miniä*, Hungarian *meng;* on the other hand, Mongol. *köke*, Mandshu. *kuku*, Kamtskadal *kagal*, Turkish *gök*, Hungarian *kek*. Specially deserving of notice are the personal pronouns:—

	Mongol.	Mandshu.	Turkish.	The Ugro-Finnic.
I	bi	bi	be-n	en (Samoëde, man)
Thou	tzin	ozi	se-n	te, de
He	e	i	(ol)	s, ä
We	bi-da	be	biz	mi, mek (Samoëde, mende)
You	ta	sue	siz	dek tek (Samoëde, tende)
They	ede	dshe	(on-lar)	-k, sek, vök (Samoëde, tin)

F. On the other hand, there exist certain words similarly pronounced (homonyms) which have, nevertheless, in the two groups of languages fundamentally different significations, and are thus of different origin. For example, *el* in Finnic means to live, and in Hungarian *él* has the same meaning; on the other hand, in Mongolian *el* means peace, in Hungarian *el-eg*, satisfying, sufficient, in Mandshu. *elche, nelche*, means peace. In Finnic and Hungarian *fej* means head, Turkish *basch* is head; in Mandshu. *feje* is wound, and in Turkish *basch* is wound.

G. In the words for heaven, as well as in the homonymous words *el*, we see that in the Ugrian languages two different synonymous or homonymous words lie alongside of one another, but the latter are distinguished in pronunciation (*él* and *el*). The case is similar in regard to the Turkish. Originally Ugro-Finnic roots, which as such are also present in Turkish, which, however, already in primitive times had been borrowed from the Mongols, came, in the Middle Ages, in consequence of that linguistic change which they had suffered from the Mongols, to be regarded by the Turks as foreign words. For example, Finnic *jauko*, Turkish *jygh*, to accumulate, was in use among the Mongols as *tschuk*, much, Mandshu. *tschoocha*, crowd, and this passed over again into Turkish in the form of *tschok*, much. Similarly, the Turkish *jak*, to kindle, *jakty*, bright, Lapp *tsake*, to burn, Hungarian *ek*, to burn (*eg*, heaven), Mandshu. *jacha*, glowing coal. Among the Mongols the root took the form *tschok*,[1] *tschakil*, to lighten, *tschaki*, to strike fire, and then *tschak*, to strike fire, was borrowed again by the Turks as a foreign word.

Unless this note is to be allowed to swell up into a volume, I must select just a few from the hundreds of examples that might be given; but what have been adduced may suffice to illustrate the correctness of the view set forth in the section to which these observations are appended. The Mongolian and Ugro-Finnic groups of languages are like two streams which two thousand years ago overflowed one another's banks and got their waters mixed. That, notwithstanding, they should still show evident traces of their original linguistic diversity, is more than could be expected. Under division *D*, I might, had space been allowed me, besides the thirteen examples given, have adduced eighty-eight other similar instances; and under

[1] Similarly, among the Lapps we find that an initial *j* is quite readily transformed into *ts* or *tsch*; for example, *tschôke*, to accumulate, from *jauk*; *tschuok*, light, from *jak*; but it is remarkable that it is not from the Lapps, but from the Mongols, that the Turks have received those modified constructions.

division *A*, I might easily have given a dozen more. In many cases under division *E*, the changes in pronunciation show that the one root was originally Ugrian and the other originally Mongolian. Thus, for the word "to go," we have the Mongolian root *jabu* (Mandshu. *jabu, jo*, Hungarian *jö*, to come, Turkish *jol*, a way); but alongside of it an Ugrian root, Turkish *järä*, Mongol. *dshurtschi*, Mandshu. *dshura*, where the transformation of the *j* into the squeezing sound indicates the course along which it has travelled (comp. Schott, p. 380). In a similar way the Lapp *jurte*, to think, Turkish *järek*, spirit, Mongol. *dshurik*, spirit, will, *dshuri*, are determined. Also, Turkish *joba*, to be in travail, Mongol. *dshoba*, pain. Also, Lapp *kawa*, to bend, Finnic *kawala*, crooked, *koje*, bending, Mongol. *chadsha*, crooked, etc. In like manner the investigation of the changes in pronunciation in division *A* teaches us to recognise a primitive relationship. In the Ugro-Finnic languages, *w* sometimes passes over into *k* (Schott, p. 382). Thus in Finnic we have for turn (German *wenden*), *wäänd*, and also the form *kääänt*; and in Mongol. we have *chantu*, which is allied to the Gothic *vandjan*, Old High German *wendjan*. There is also an evident connection between *wulu, bulu*, hair, in the Malayan languages, and the Gothic *vulla*, the Old High German *wolla* (wool), Lapp *kwol-ga*, Mongol. and Turkish *kil*, hair of animals. In regard to division *C*, it should be observed that many stems originally Ugrian have become modified in signification among the Mongols, by means of which they clearly enough give evidence of their non-Mongolian derivation. In the Finnic and Magyar languages, *köyda, köt*, is to bind, *köyte* is a cord, perhaps originally connected with Latin *catena*. The Mongols evidently adopt the noun as it stands, and make therefrom the verb *küte*, to lead an animal with a cord. Among the mixed race of the Mandshurians both words are brought together again; *chuaita*, to bind, and *kutele*. The Finns say *neitiä*, moist (German *nass*, Old High German *nazi*), Magyar *nete*, moist, Lapp *njuos-ka*, moist, fresh, Turkish *jasch*, fresh, hence *jascha*, to live; in this derivative sense the word passed over to the Mongols as *nasu*, age, or stage of life. On the other hand, the word *nara*, the sun, is wanting in the Ugro-Finnic languages, and so is originally Mongolian, and it has passed over into Turkish and Hungarian in the derivative sense of summer, Magyar *nyar*, Turkish *jar*. In reply to those who do not concern themselves with details about the so-called Altaic languages, I observe, in conclusion, that in the above investigation I have not taken into account any etymological connections between words of the Altaic languages which have not been already proved as such by Schott in the work to which reference has been made.

§ 265. *Buddhism among the Mongolian Tribes.*

Before entering upon our investigation into the primitive religions of the Mongolian races, it is indispensably necessary that we should endeavour to acquaint ourselves with the form in which Buddhism was first received among these people. In § 206 we followed its fortunes in the land of its birth. The panacea for mankind had been found, and was practically applied to the life, pantheism was carried out to its ultimate consequence, the wish of D. Fr. Strauss was already realized twenty-three centuries before his day: miracle was divorced from religion, and priesthood from the religious community; without any priestly interference, any one might surrender himself to the confession that he is a moment in the self-developing process of the unconscious absolute, and will infallibly lose himself in the universal negation. This doctrine spread with gigantic strides; with truly fanatical zeal it was preached to the peoples of Asia by hundreds, yes, by thousands of missionaries. Upper India received it with open arms; and in the last century before Christ it had won possession of the countries west of Tibet, Cashgar, Khotan, and Yarkand. About A.D. 500 the whole of Higher Asia lying south of Gobi was already under the sway of Buddhism, and a hundred years later, the Emperor Srongdsan Gambo of Tibet, when he had given political unity to the kingdom, completed his work by the introduction of Buddhism. When, in the beginning of the 10th century, owing to a reaction on the part of the adherents of the old national religion, the Tibetan dynasty was overthrown, and a dreadful persecution of Buddhists set in, this only gave occasion for its further spread. Those who were driven forth began to proclaim their doctrines in the north, as far as Japan, where at least a great portion of the inhabitants adopted the new faith. Buddhism had been introduced into China in B.C. 65; and in A.D. 648, Hiouen-Thsang made the distribution of Buddhist literature throughout the empire his special life-task. In A.D. 1200, the Lama Oshu

Adhisha again restored Buddhism in Tibet, and in the 13th century this religion was carried thence among the Mongols, in the strict sense of the word; and after Genghis Khan had adopted it in A.D. 1247, it soon became (about A.D. 1260) the national religion.

It may now be asked: How far has pantheism preserved its much lauded excellences in this religion? History makes answer thus: It has appeared in the form of absolute impotence in religious, intellectual, and moral relations. A David Fr. Strauss of the 5th century was immediately followed by a crowd of Vischers, who were convinced that halting half way was not at all such a bad thing, but that rather it was absolutely necessary for the people,[1] and that we must leave to the masses their faith in the gods. Connivance with polytheism was the universal characteristic of Buddhism. A more thoroughgoing contrast is nowhere to be found in history than that which exists between this Buddhism and the gospel, as in the first centuries after Christ, and now again in modern missionary enterprise.[2] Like a pungent salt, the gospel purged out all the filth of polytheistic superstition, and in the power of the living God overcame heathenism and overthrew it; whereas the pantheism of Buddhism was never able to conquer heathenism, but, like a wet wrapper, clung round every form of polytheism, and thus became itself often thoroughly polytheistic, adapting itself even to the crudest forms of pagan belief. Thus in India, its own proper home, it accommodated itself in order to win the people, so as to admit into its system the worship

[1] Vischer, *kritische Gänge*, Heft 6, "Alter und neuer Glaube."

[2] On the other hand, the degraded, paganized Christianity of the Romish Church has, besides other striking resemblances to Buddhism, shown this tendency to connive with heathen superstition and polytheism. The whole system of saint-worship in the Church of Rome has its origin essentially in such a connivance (compare the letter of Gregory the Great to the British Missionary Augustine in Bede, i. 30, and my own *Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 438). One is also reminded of the Jesuit missions to China and Malabar (see the same work, iii. p. 678 f.), where the Jesuit Nobili expressed himself in favour of the idea of a bodily return of the god Brahma.

of Indra along with a multitude of Indian gods and demi-gods and legendary heroes. This strange amalgam was then introduced by Buddhism into Higher India and Tibet. In China, Ceylon, and among the Mongols, a similar connivance with local beliefs was exercised; and thus Buddhism has as many forms as there are countries into which it has been introduced. In China it was reduced to a dry rationalistic philosophical system, that it might be conformed as far as possible to the system of Confucius. In the empire of Mongolia nothing was left that was characteristic of Buddhism, but an external ceremonial, wherein in a masked form the old Mongolian religion was reproduced.[1]

We are now in a position to advance to a study of its inner and essential development. Just as with David Fr. Strauss the craving for some sort of worship, after the divine object of worship had been removed, sought out earthly objects, and had recourse to a worship of genius, so also it happened in the case of the Buddhists. Sakya-Muni was himself the genius who pre-eminently received their adoration; in him the impersonal absolute had reached the highest stage of his self-developing process. So far back, then, as the period between 400 and 100 B.C., the name of Sakya-Muni had become the subject and centre of a cycle of myths, wherein he was straightway elevated to the rank of a divine being. He is to descend upon India from Damba-Togar, the abode of the gods, in the form of an elephant, and to enter into the womb of Queen Maha Madsha; so soon as born, he is to pass through the whole world in seven steps, he is to enter into marriage, but during his thirty years' life he is to pass his time in penitential exercises; the King of the Apes (very suitably) declares his reverence for him, a raging elephant is pacified by him, fair maidens, who are brought to him inflamed with the passion of

[1] "The influence of the Chinese on the Mongols is everywhere the same. It may be described as in the first instance a demoralizing, and then a civilising influence." Thus writes, though with immediate reference to the present, Prejevalsky in his *Travels in Mongolia*, p. 202, who otherwise ranks Buddhism and Confucianism high above Christianity.

love, are persuaded by him to enter on the life of nuns. While the Brahmans of India during those last centuries before Christ contrived their philosophical notion of the Trimurti, according to which Brahma as the absolute manifests himself in Vishnu, the creator of matter or the water-god, and in Siva, the destroyer of matter or the fire-god, Buddhism brought forth its doctrine of a Trimurti in quite another form; the deified Sakya-Muni, under the name of Buddha or Gautama, called in China and among the Mongols Fo, his doctrine designated Dharma or the law, and the Buddhist priesthood, Sangha, form all that now remains as an object of worship. This, however, was the esoteric doctrine; alongside of this there was still allowed, as we have said, to the masses the entire accumulation of their polytheistic belief. As might be expected, there is no lack of theoretical attempts to bring these two into harmony. It is this that brings to view the impotence of Buddhism from an intellectual point of view. The question as to how the world had its origin was solved in a way which strikingly reminds us of the atomistic materialism of our own times. The world had its origin from the aggregation of elements. First a great wind blew; by this means the atmospheric particles were gathered together; in the midst of these a cloud arose, and out of its rain the sea was produced, and upon the surface of the sea the dry land appeared like cream on milk. The several atoms are here evidently assumed to be the primitive existences, for they do not need first to be originated, but only to be gathered together. In the beginning all was light, but then arose a thought, and this produced the false light, darkness. The subjectively self-conscious is thus regarded as evil and destructive. According to other schools, for Buddhism was split up into many sects and parties, over matter there existed a world of spirits, who by degrading themselves by contact with matter fell, and thus were made to assume the form of personal existence. Personality or self-consciousness is thus evidently regarded as a function of matter! Upon earth,

besides men and animals there are good spirits and Asurs, half-evil spirits, and under the earth there are wholly evil spirits. Indra is enthroned on Mount Sumeru in his own special heaven, called by the Mongols Churmusta.[1] Four heavens lying below this mountain, and four wrapped in the clouds above the heaven of Indra, in each of which resides a spirit-prince, form with it the nine heavens of delights. The spirits inhabiting these marry and are given in marriage. Above these are three heavens, in which there is the ordeal of fire; in the three succeeding these there are still storms and perturbations of mind; in the next three there are still separate sensations and thoughts. Finally, there come six heavens, in which all feeling and sensation is utterly dead, and the essential nature of all as they are in themselves is shown. Above these eighteen "coloured" heavens there are thus, finally, those six "colourless" heavens, in which all knowledge and consciousness cease, and utter annihilation or Nirvâna (§ 205) is reached. At last the whole world together with all the heavens will be destroyed and pass into nothingness. Every man has to make his way through these heavens to this goal; to be is pain, not to be is the one true happiness,—the Schopenhauer-Hartmann practical conclusion of Hegelianism, for there is nothing new under the sun.

It was a true practical instinct that led the Buddhists to assign this process of gradual self-extinction, not to the earthly life, but to that which is beyond. In this way there was preserved for the earthly life a bright page of existence free from care. Buddhism has given forth some moral precepts, since during the present life such cannot altogether be dispensed with. These indeed are few in number. The prohibition against killing man is extended into a prohibition against killing any living thing. The Buddhist finds vermin on his body; he wraps it up carefully in cotton, or pushes it

[1] The nine legendary tales of Siddi-Khur have been issued in Mongolian with a German translation by Bernhard Jülg, published at Innsbruck 1868. See p. 181.

off unnoticed upon his companion. In Higher and Further India there are to be found as Buddhist institutions great hospitals for the treatment of sick animals; but miserable sick men are left untended. The institution of caste continues in all its severity. There is no command of mercy; the prohibition against killing any living creature is regarded as sufficient. Further, stealing, lying, and drunkenness are forbidden; also men are warned against becoming the slaves of lust. This last injunction, just precisely as in the Romish Church, is intended in the sense of giving a special honour to the life of celibacy. Marriage and property are denied to the priesthood, also sharing in dances and music, and dyeing of the hair and skin; set hours for eating, too, are prescribed for them. It is meritorious for a layman to give a present to the priests. But where do the priests come from? Had not Sakya-Muni divorced priesthood from religion? Even at this point pantheism has shown its impotency. Buddhism here appears inconsistent with its own principles. Deliverance from all priestly interference had been promised, and instead of this a guardian-like position is assigned to the priesthood, which has the closest resemblance to that of the Romish Church, and is even brought to a point in a way similar to that of the Papacy. At the outset there was the hope of speedily reaching Nirvâna, which induced hundreds and thousands to abandon marriage and property and to live as beggars. These holy penitents soon came to be regarded as priests of Buddha, called in other regions Jainas, and in Tibet and among the Mongols, Lamas. They gathered together in cloisters under abbots called Gurus; they preached with zeal the Buddhist doctrine. The burying of the dead, the education of the youth, were by and by assigned to them. Rapidly these communities developed into an elaborately arranged hierarchy, consisting mostly of three orders, but among the Mongols of four. This soon led to the opinion that the priest has to perform the duties of religion for the laymen, and thus religion was reduced to a mere mechanical thing. This shows

itself most conspicuously in the way in which the meritorious duty of prayer is discharged. The form of prayer is written on a slip of paper, this is fixed on a round stick and is turned about for a long while. And since even this takes up too much time and is inconvenient, the little stick is often set as the axle of a small water-wheel and then put in a brook, and thus the water performs the devotional duties of the worshipper. Among Chinese Buddhists, offerings consist of strips of gold-paper, which are burnt.

In Tibet for the last four hundred years, as is well known, the priesthood has had its head in the Dalai-Lama at H'lassa, who is looked upon as the representative of Buddha on the earth, and as the incarnation of a spiritual prince, Bodhisattwa. This Buddhist papacy is of Mongolian origin. In A.D. 1260, the Khan Batu, uncle of Genghis Khan, set up, after the pattern of the strict monarchical system that prevailed in the political constitution of the empire, a supreme Lama (Khubilghan) over the Lamas of his dominion. And just as in India, with its polytheism, the images of the gods were put under Buddhist protection, and were introduced into Buddhist worship, so in the Mongolian empire, made up of a mixture of Mongolian and Tartar tribes, the whole system of magic and necromancy was readily incorporated. And if Buddhism boasts that it has rendered nations gentler, and has vanquished in them the thirst for blood, there is in the history of the Mongols nothing to warrant such a claim. They were, after the year 1247, the same savage and bloodthirsty robbers and murderers as before (see § 266). In this kingdom, during the 15th century, the Lama priesthood split up into two parties,—the red-caps, who allowed the lower orders of their priests to marry, and the yellow-caps, and between these there was a bitter and bloody strife. The yellows renounced the authority of the Mongolian Khubilghan, and put themselves under the Dalai-Lama of Tibet. These two are set over against one another to the present time as opposing sects. The Chinese Buddhists belong to the yellow faction. The Buddhism of

to-day has assumed in every respect the quality of a worship of the idols of the land.[1] Among the Barmans polygamy and polyandry is allowed by law, and they have reduced lying to a system as thoroughly as the Brahmans of Further India.[2] In Japan, not merely with the connivance of the Buddhist priests, but organized and zealously and actively conducted by them as a lucrative business, prostitution is pursued under State regulation ;[3] and, indeed, under the influence of Buddhism it has been developed into a regular phallic worship in the temples.[4] This is the noble result of pantheism as a world-purifying power in Buddhism.

[1] On Buddhism in Higher India, compare *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1837, H. 2. On Ceylon, 1839, H. 4. Of the Cingalese, Ed. Hildebrandt (*Reise um die Erde*, 4th ed. Berlin 1873, i. 58) writes: "I have often given attention in order to see if I could discover in the countenance of suppliants any trace of inner spiritual feeling. In vain ; there was to be observed in them just as little discontent or dissatisfaction with the *Sansâras*, this present world, as hope of the eternal peace of *Nirvâna*. It was only my worldly rupees that always kept the pious Cingalese in the best spirits."

[2] Helfer's *Reisen in Vorderasien und Indien*, ii. 86 and 95.

[3] Ed. Hildebrandt, *Reise um die Erde*, ii. 85 ff. In Yeddo there were, in 1869, no less than 3289 public prostitutes (von Kudriaffsky, *Japan*, p. 108). That the Japanese for the most part marry their wives from among the prostitutes is doubted, in so far as men of good position are concerned, by Al. von Hübner (*Spazierg. um die Welt*, i. 342), but is affirmed by E. von Hildebrandt with regard to those of the lower orders, who also are devotees of Buddhism. Wernich doubts even this, but admits that in youths of eighteen years a quite unreasonable lust is awakened which is satisfied in brothels, so that young men of from eighteen to twenty-five years appear half-grizzled elderly men ; further, that it is a duty to protect sailors of ships trading with Japan because of the State-sanctioned vice through the establishment of brothels, and that; according to official reports, on twenty-five ships with 2740 men, thirty-five were daily incapacitated from work on account of syphilitic diseases ; further, that in the higher ranks marriages are concluded only for five years, in the lower ranks for even a shorter time. On the other hand, what will it signify though adultery by the woman is threatened by law with death, and though an old law, that has long passed into desuetude, that youths should marry in their sixteenth year? Compare also Kreitner, *zur fernen Osten*, pp. 235–276.

[4] Hildebrandt, *Reise um die Erde*, ii. 101.

§ 266. *The Ancient Religion of the Mongols.*

Those who use the name Mongols as interchangeable with that of Tartar are wont to appeal to the fact that Genghis Khan doomed to death those found guilty of witchcraft and soothsaying, and enacted by law that all his subjects should believe in the creator of heaven and earth,[1] as a proof that the same Shamanism must have prevailed among the Mongols as did among the Ugro-Tartar tribes. It is, however, quite evident that Genghis Khan, who never advanced any pretension to be regarded as a founder of a religion, did not intend by that law to take away from his Mongolian subjects their earlier religion and substitute another in its place, but rather simply to introduce the religion of his own superior race into the conquered domains of the Kirghiz, Nigurs, Merkites of the Altaian group, Turks, etc., and thus to extirpate the Shamanism that was offensive to the Mongols. It might therefore be assumed beforehand that the Mongols had believed in the creator of heaven and earth, and that they were not addicted to Shamanism. Both of these positions can be supported by direct evidence. The Franciscan Johannes Plankarpinus, who was sent in A.D. 1246 by Innocent IV. to the Grand Khan of the Mongols, relates,[2] that they believed in a creator of all things, whom they called Nagatai, *naga* corresponding to *ngängnjï* in Tungusic and *inikch* in Aleutian, meaning heaven, and *tai* corresponding to the Chinese *taò*, god (comp. *dêva*, Gothic *tius*). To this god, however, they did not render any special worship. Alongside of him they had guardian deities of their tents and herds;[3] a wooden image of such deities stood in every tent covered with silk cloth, placed also on a special decorated car. If an ox was slain, its heart was placed before the image as an offering, and was left lying there till the following day. Of the mare's milk, which

[1] *Ssanang Sseten*, p. 393. Timoffsky's *Reise*, iii. 182.

[2] See de Guignes, *allg. Geschichte der Hunnen und Turken*, iii. p. 7.

[3] *Oeggo-d*, spirits, from the root *ang*, *ong*; see § 264, *Obs.* 2.

they drink, and the flesh, which they eat, they first take a portion and besmear therewith the mouth of the idol. They worship these images kneeling.[1] In front of the Khan's tent stands a costly decorated image. Plankarpinus tells also of a god Fo, who was from a southern land. This is Buddha, whose religion (§ 265) had even then begun to spread among the Mongols. Traces of Buddhism appear in the prohibition against killing young birds; the Buddhist missionaries, however, were not able to extend the prohibition to the slaying of all animals in dealing with a nomadic race which lived by the rearing of cattle. Other customs and laws, which Plankarpinus speaks about, appear, on the other hand, to be purely Mongolian; for example, the prohibition against leaning on a whip, spitting out chewed flesh, spilling milk, easing nature within a dwelling, putting an iron vessel upon the fire, beating a horse with the bridle, or sending it without a halter into a meadow. All these were forbidden on pain of death; if any of these faults had been unintentionally committed, it might be atoned for by a fine and a ceremony of purification by fire. All these precepts bear the character rather of a reasonably severe police arrangement than that of a religious system. Those guardian deities, however, seem to us of special interest, inasmuch as they were evidently family gods, being placed not in common public sanctuary, but in every tent; and this will be confirmed by reports obtained from other quarters. After the death of Genghis Khan a monument was placed over his tomb, and round about it eight sanctuaries were built, where his followers should be obliged to render him worship;[2] this reverence being claimed by him, not as prince of the nation,

[1] D'Hossom gives Tangri as the name of the creator of the world, and *ongon* as that of the images of the guardian deities. As he mentions no authorities, and manifestly confounds what is Tartarian and what is Mongolian, his assertions are of no great weight. The name *tangri* may either be the Tartarian appellative for heaven, *tengri* (see § 264 under *b*), or may be the result of a confusion with the *tegris* or ancestral spirits of the Mongols.

[2] *Ssanang Sseten*, pp. 109 and 389.

but as the ancestor of their race. Now this could not have been done unless the worship of ancestry prevailed among the Mongols; and that such a custom was actually prevalent, and that ancestors of both sexes were appealed to for protection and assistance, the document referred to explicitly declares.[1] When the Mongolian empire came to an end in A.D. 1368, and Buddhism was with it overthrown, the old national religion was revived, until Dajan again restored Buddhism in A.D. 1578. During this period, as in former times, an offering (*choilga*) was brought to the spirit of the departed (*tegri*), consisting of horses and camels, which were slain and buried with the deceased; but sometimes also men, and especially children, were sacrificed. It seems now quite evident that those images in the several tents were nothing else than images of the *tegris*, the ancestors of the race, whose spirits were appealed to and worshipped as guardian spirits of the family. In this respect the Mongolian people stand contrasted with the Ugro-Tartar races generally; for while the Ugro-Tartar feared the spirits of the departed as vengeful ghosts, so that he would not venture even once to mention their names (§ 263), the Mongol regarded them as friendly guardian deities, set up their images in his tent, worshipped them, and invoked their help. We shall find this prevalence of a pious feeling in regard to their ancestors to be thoroughly characteristic also of other nations belonging to the Mongolian family.

Belief in a creator of the world does not as such form any distinction between the Mongolian and the Ugro-Tartar groups, for we have already shown in § 263 that even among the Ugro-Tartars there are evident traces of a primitive acquaintance with the idea of a creator. And yet even in respect of this point there is a thoroughgoing difference in the form in which this belief was adopted. We find among the Ugro-Tartars, and even among the Finns, a perceptible tendency to think of that creator after a purely anthropomorphic fashion; —among the Finns he is called "the old father;" among the

[1] *Ssanang Sseten*, pp. 109, 235, 249, 416.

Votiaks and their neighbours he is spoken of as dwelling under human conditions in the sun; by the Teleutians he is described as in the uniform of the dragoons. The Mongols, on the other hand, have persistently conceived of their Nagatai as a pure spirit, an incorporeal being, without material form, raised beyond the reach of the senses, and dwelling far away in an abstract distance. The same is also true in regard to the Chinese.

A second point, in regard to which the Mongols would seem at first sight to be at one with the Ugro-Tartars, but occupy in fact quite a different position, has been referred to in § 262 f. There the sun and the moon were raised as near as possible to the creator, and the creator brought down as near as possible to the sun, either as dwelling in it or as wholly identical with it. Among the Mongolian races, one might say, the creator stands rather in the wide expanse of heaven, dwelling in an abstract distance above all that is visible; whereas the sun and moon are thought of as approaching near to man, like the ancestors of the ruling family, in whom the nation itself is represented as an ideal unity, and toward whom it regards itself as standing in a pious relation of children to their parents. It is not only in China that the Emperor bears the title Son of Heaven, Thiantsè, but also the Mongols, according to Plankarpinus, worshipped the moon, and, indeed, the full moon, as the great queen;[1] and the sun, as the direct ancestor of the royal house. They possessed in regard to this a very definite tradition.[2] One of the ancient Khans, Yulduz, had two sons, who died before him; the one left a son, Dedshunbajan, the other a daughter, Alankava. Those two were married to one another; the husband soon died, after Alankava had borne him two sons, Baktut and Balaktut, named by Marco Polo, who draws upon other sources,

[1] De Guignes, *Geschichte der Hunnen und Turken*, iii. 8.

[2] Abuabdallah Marrakeschi (*im abmamalik*), Mehemed bin Cavendshah (called Miraconda), and Marco Polo, see in Pétis, p. 11; D'Hossom, p. 21; De Guignes, p. 11 f.

Balgadai and Begdsadai. There appeared to the widow in her chamber, while she lay once upon her bed, a clear shining ray of light which three times encircled her breast; according to another account, it took the form of a beautiful orange-coloured man: she became pregnant, was led before the judges, related the phenomenon, and told that she had conceived three sons; if she should not bring forth three sons, she should then be treated as an adulteress. She actually did bring forth three boys, who were called *nuranium*, sons of light: Bokum katagun, Boskin saldgi, and Buzend shir. The last of these was the ancestor of Genghis Khan.

This tracing of their descent from the sun affords a very striking contrast to the tracing of their descent by the Ugro-Tartars from the wolf. It is nevertheless clear that the sun legends of the Mongols, which we shall find recurring in the traditions of the most varied nations of the Mongolian family, has a purely polytheistic origin, just as the Phœnicio-Greek legends related in § 250, *Obs.* 2, have their root in Phœnician polytheism. If it had been the despotic patriarchal constitution of the Mongolian people, together with their worship of ancestry, that had led to the apotheosizing and tracing back to the sun-god the descent of the ruling class in each of those nationalities, then of necessity myths to this effect must have been constructed. That the sun was regarded as a god, though subordinate to the supreme god, is the one presupposition required for the production of such legends.

Finally, there are still some customs of the Mongols reported by Marco Polo that may be mentioned. Ambassadors from foreign nations were made to pass between two fires, to be purified, before there could be any intercourse with them; also whoever was found in a tent that had been struck by lightning, or in which a dead body had lain. Whoever had been present at the death of a man, was unclean until the next new moon. The dead was buried with his tent; before him was placed a table with flesh and mare's milk, and along with him a horse saddled and bridled and a mare with her foal were buried: for

the life to come was regarded as a continuation of the life that now is. Polygamy was allowed; adultery and impure relations of unmarried persons were punished on discovery without more ado with death. Among themselves the Mongols had never any strife; they never lied to and stole from one another; they practised free hospitality and benevolence. In regard to strangers, they were allowed to indulge in all manner of deception, and were bound by no contracts. The Khan exercised unlimited jurisdiction; there was no private property apart from him; the people willingly and heartily submitted to his authority.

§ 267. *The Ancient Religions of Tibet, Higher India, and Ceylon.*

In Tibet, remnants of the primitive religions continued down to A.D. 900; although very little more is known about them, but that the priests were called *bonbos*, and formed a regularly graded community, at the head of which were two chief priests, a *bonbo* of heaven and a *bonbo* of earth.[1] This leads to the supposition that here also there was that separation between the purely spiritual and invisible creator of the world, enthroned in heaven, and a multitude of guardian spirits which had rule over the earth. Then in Tibet, as in China, a worship of spirits was prevalent in early times. The spirits in China, however, will be shown in § 268 to be no Shamanistic hobgoblins and ghosts, but friendly guardian spirits of their ancestors, as among the Mongols. The same thing is illustrated by a further circumstance. The population of the island of Ceylon[2] seems to be wholly or partially of Mongol blood. In the inland parts of the island there are independent tribes which have remained uninfluenced by Buddhism. The references in the songs of these tribes to Maha-Bambo as the name of a great

[1] See Stuhr, *Religionen des Orients*, p. 262.

[2] Compare on what follows, Stuhr, *Religionen des Orients*, p. 274 ff.

guardian spirit,[1] prove unmistakeably their connection, in respect of race and of religion, with nations of the Mongolian family; and the existence of a regular intercourse between Ceylon and Higher India in early times is also in other ways quite demonstrable. In the religion professed by those tribes in the present day, though doubtless now found in a very corrupt form, of which we have detailed accounts given us by Knox[2] and by Davy,[3] we have an extremely satisfactory source of information regarding the early religion of those nations. Those peoples believe in one supreme god, the invisible creator of heaven and earth, whom they call Ossa polla maupt Dio. Further, they worship the sun Irrihaumi, and the moon Handahaumi,[4] as a divine pair; also four great guardian spirits of the earth, enthroned on the mountain peaks, *pattinie;* a multitude of spirits of the woods and the hills; but, above all, the spirits of the departed, *dajautas.* Each family erects a temple (*kowilla*, meaning perhaps place of invocation; comp. Mandshu. *chula*, Tungusic *goli*, to call, to invoke, Mongol. *choola*, voice, throat) to its own *dajauta*, where the father of the family officiates as priest. These temples are adorned with swords, battle-axes, arrows, and shields, and the walls are painted with human figures in war-like attitudes. Here, too, we have the specific religious patriotism of the Mongols, which seeks the aid of their ancestors in their struggle against foreign tribes and nations. In connection with every act of worship of the spirits there was a magical performance carried out by those Cingalese, which, however, had not the least resemblance to Shamanism. The priestly head of the family laid on his shoulder one of the

[1] In Tibet the word which designated god was applied to the priests, who were called god's servants, god's men, the godly.

[2] Knox, *Historical Account of the Island of Ceylon.*

[3] Davy, *Account of the Interior of Ceylon.*

[4] Great and small Son! *Iri* is in Turkish great, compact, firm; *kenne* in all Mongolian and Ugrian languages is small; Mongol. *chomsa*, Mandshu. *komso*, small. *Haumi* may be Mongol. *köwe*, Tungus. *kunga*, Chinese *hái*,—son.

sacred weapons hung up in the temple, and is thereby carried away into an ecstasy in which he utters prophecies. The origin of sicknesses is attributed to an angry guardian spirit; in order to discover who among them it is, recourse is had to an oracle,—iron shears are hung to the strings of a bow, the names of all the guardian spirits are called out in succession, and that one at whose name the shears fall with a vibrating motion is understood to be the angry spirit, and atonement is made to him with offerings and wild dances and masquerades. The dancers are called *dshaddese* or *jakka dura*. It is evident that at the basis of this religious practice there lies an idea completely different from that of Shamanism. A hobgoblin to whose nature it belongs to do mischief, and a good guardian spirit, who, because he has been wronged, temporarily chastises his charge, are two very different things. Neither should we identify a magician by profession and a family chieftain as hereditary priest.

In Cingalese legends and songs the word *bambo* often means a dragon or snake, and so it seems that the guardian spirits were conceived of as having the shape of a dragon or serpent, and in earlier times were probably represented as such in figures. The legends of the Aryan Indians tell of the spread of a worship of Nat and Nâga,[1] spirits and serpents, which in the earliest times had made its way through all the southern parts of Further India;[2] and this would lead to the supposition that the Aryan population had been preceded by a Mongolian. These Cingalese have also a system of star observation, which, however, is of Chaldæan origin, and has clearly come to them from the Aryan Indians, and at a later period from the Arabians.[3] Among those dwelling on the

[1] It should be noticed here that *nâga* is a Sanscrit appellative for serpent, and not at all a Mongolian proper name of the sun-god. The name Nagatai has nothing to do with it.

[2] The serpent king of the Indian legends, Karakôtaka, springs undoubtedly from a Mongolian origin, though not in name, yet certainly in regard to character.

[3] Stuhr, *Religionen des Orients*, p. 282 f.

coasts of Ceylon the modern Aryan-Indian religion and mythology have plainly been mixed up with their own primitive religion. From a corrupt form of Brahmanism they have adopted the goddess Kali as *Omawa ganama*, the health-god Kumaras, and a multitude of evil spirits, and all this jumble they have mixed up with their idolatrous Buddhist worship.[1]

When, again, we turn our attention to Tibet, we are told by the inhabitants of this land that they have a tradition[2] to the effect that their nation sprang, partly from the marriage of an ape with a female hobgoblin, partly directly from the apes who were instructed in agriculture by a great sage, whether he was called Darwin is not said, in consequence of which their tails became gradually shortened, their hair fell off, and they began to speak. This tradition represents a stage of scientific knowledge far too advanced to be regarded as a genuine relic of antiquity. Jesting aside, it bears quite the character of a Buddhist fable; and that it is not of early Mongolian origin appears from this, that among the Mongolian nations there never appears any trace (§ 263, *Obs.*) of a belief in a descent from animals; but that Tartars should be confined to the Brahmaputra is not in the least degree possible.

Of the old national religion of the peoples of Upper India only a few vestiges remain. Long before Buddhism made its appearance[3] in its polytheistic modifications, these peoples were under the spiritual influence of the Aryans of Further India. It is all the more remarkable that those slight traces exhibit the same characteristics as the old Mongolian religion. The Barmans of the present time, although Buddhists, still celebrate the full moon and the new moon,[4] an evident remnant of a primitive moon-worship. In Siam there has

[1] Stuhr, *Religionen des Orients*, p. 278 ff. [2] *Ibid.* p. 261.

[3] The image of the god Jamataga, which has been found in Nepaul, with eight heads, thirty-six arms, and eighteen legs, proves the blending there of the worship of Siva and Buddha. See Stuhr, p. 279.

[4] *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1837, p. 219.

been maintained a special adoration of the departed, and belief in their sheltering influence: the dead are burned with peculiarly honourable rites; but the body of a pregnant woman is buried, and to the fœtus in the mother's womb is ascribed a special power for protecting against evil spirits. Whoever succeeds in stealing such an undeveloped child from the grave, cuts off its head, hands, and feet, fits them on to a stump of clay, and sets up this image as a guardian deity in his temple.[1] Throughout the whole of Anam and Cochin-China, where in general Buddhism has made its way and prevails in the form of the rudest idolatry, with a predominant fear of the evil spirits of the Buddhist system (§ 265), ordinarily the spirits of the departed are regarded as guardian spirits, and are profoundly and earnestly honoured. Four times in the year are offerings brought them.[2]

In all this we find an illustration of the old truth, that when we go back to a remote antiquity we find, as the original common possession of all peoples of the various groups of nations, belief in the one invisible creator of heaven and earth, that then there grew up in various forms a polytheistic deification of nature,—among the Mongols connected essentially with ancestor-worship, among the Ugro-Tartars, on the other hand, with animal-worship,—and in consequence thereof soothsaying and witchcraft of various kinds were practised. Among the Mongolian nations that have been hitherto spoken of, there has, finally, to be added to all this deterioration that pestilential and corrupting product of the foreign, Aryan-Indian cultured race, Buddhism. The lowest depth of degradation is occupied by the Khyeng, who inhabit the mountain region between Aracan and Ava in Further India. With them religion has been almost completely reduced to a system of soothsaying. They have a priesthood under a spiritual chief, the *passiné*,

[1] Stuhr, *Religionen des Orients*, p. 297. Finlayson, *Mission to Siam and Hue*, p. 238.

[2] Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, p. 296 and p. 835; Barrow, *Voyage to Cochin-China*, p. 232. The same four sorts of offerings are made in China; see § 268.

a clear proof that in earlier times they had a religion. This, however, has now shrunk up into the adoration of a big tree called Subri, to which once a year they offer oxen and swine and the thunder columns, that is, stones which they dig out of the earth on places that have been struck by lightning. At such places a pig and an ox are offered, and the stone that has been dug up, which they regard as having fallen from heaven, is given up to the *passine* as a charm against sickness. This points to an earlier worship of a thunder-god; and, in fact, they tell of a god who dwells on a high, inaccessible mountain.[1] The *passine* is consulted in regard to marriages in order to secure good luck for him, and he is the arbiter in disputes. Death is regarded as a joyful circumstance, and is celebrated by festival, at which there is drinking, debauchery, and dancing; the bodies of distinguished persons are burnt, others are buried, and watchers against evil spirits are placed at the grave. Whoever has lost children and cattle, and gets befittingly drunk over it, has the happy prospect for his soul of its being turned, after death, into an ox or a pig.[2] Of the Old Mongolian religion there is here no trace to be seen. The adoration of a sacred tree, the worship of the thunder-god (Indra), with his dwelling on a high mountain, Sumeru (comp. § 265), the use of Brahmanical customs in burning the bodies of the distinguished, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and, finally, the joy that is shown over death as marking a step in the journey back to the universal primary being,—all this shows clearly the presence, if not of Aryan-Indian influences, pure or mixed, at least the operation of influences from the Brahmanical Buddhism of Further India.

Obs.—The Karens dwelling in the mountains of the Burmese empire are, according to their own traditions, immigrants from the north, from a land where they possessed books; and in spite of their servile position under the Burmese, which has lasted for centuries, they show traces of having had a higher civilisation in their dress and customs (Helfer's *Reisen*, ii. 104), when

[1] *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1837, p. 215.

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 261 ff.

the Burmese were savages going almost naked and tattooed. The Mongolian type is much more faintly discernible in them (Helfer). This fact, as well as their religion, leads us to conjecture that in them there is primarily an Iranian, and only secondarily a Mongolian extraction. Their doctrine of the gods is limited to a belief in good and evil spirits (*nat*), to whom they lay down, in hidden spots in the woods, offerings of rice, fruits, and flowers; they have no priesthood or any regular form of worship; but their burial ceremonies are evidently the result of a compromise between Iranian and Mongolian customs. The bringing together and laying out the whole possessions of the deceased, and their burying of the dead, was thoroughly Mongolian; their raising the body after the expiry of a year, and their letting it remain exposed to the air, was thoroughly Iranian (comp. § 216). Also the custom (Helfer, p. 107 f.) of surrendering the body, carefully wrapped up, to the earth for a year, appears to rest originally upon an Iranian notion that the body should not come into any immediate connection with the sacred earth. The sacred books which this people possessed in their primitive state, of which they have a remembrance, and over the loss of which they bitterly lament, undoubtedly must have been those of the Avesta.

§ 268. *China and its Religion.*

The Chinese are in the highest degree a cultured people. Although I have not treated of them in the first section, but ranked them in this place, this has been done simply on account of their geographical, ethnographical, and historical position. In respect of bodily form they belong to the great Mongolian group of nations, and must be regarded as a branch of the same, though even as such they became isolated from the other members of the group in a very remote antiquity. This isolation, moreover, was not so much an external one, for during a thousand years they were obliged to wage a defensive war against the hostile inroads and predatory attacks, first of the Ugro-Tartars and then of the savage West-Mongolians. Their isolation was rather in respect of spiritual development and in respect of language (see *Obs.*). It is not necessary that we should here enlarge upon the primitive culture of the Chinese, who are acknowledged to have anticipated the West in the use of the magnetic needle, in the discovery of the art

of printing, of gunpowder, etc.; nor is it required of us that we should give in detail a history of the Chinese people and their empire. The ancient historical document of the Chinese, *Schū-King*, which reaches from B.C. 2356 down to B.C. 947, exists no longer in its original form, but only in an abridgment, which the well-known Khùng-tsè, Confucius, made about B.C. 500.[1] We shall have to consider farther on what the Chinese tell about the early history of mankind and about the flood; for the present it need only be said that the Chinese, or as they put it, the hundred families, *pĕ kĭa* (where a hundred evidently is a round number in the sense of many, for there are 438 such families expressly enumerated), when they reached the land, found already before them certain wild tribes of a Malay race, the Miâo-tsè, in the mountains of Sze Chuen, Kuei Choo, Che Kiang, Kuang Se, and Kuang Tung, whom they, since they were not able to subdue them, shut out by means of strong fortifications at the outlets of the mountain ravines.[2] They continue to exist down to the present day, living in fenced villages of, at the most, 2000 inhabitants, tending their cattle and following agricultural pursuits. They formed the pith of the Tâi-pîng rebellion of 1850, and the great rival Emperor Tîen-tĕ was of this race.[3] This people of the hundred families at the beginning possessed only the country between the great desert and Mandshùria on the north, and the Kiang-uria on the south, beyond which there were only the two provinces of King and Yang. From B.C 2205 China has been a hereditary kingdom, with a feudal constitution; from B.C. 1122 till B.C. 256 the Tchow dynasty reigned; it was overthrown by Tsîn, a vassal king, who gained the superiority; his adopted son, Chì-Hoâng-Tí, B.C. 246–209, who built the Chinese Wall about B.C. 220, to resist the inroads of the wild Hiong-nu (see § 264), sought to change

[1] V. von Strauss, *Lao-tse's Tao-te-king*, Leipzig 1870, Introd. § 11, p. xxxvii. By the same author, *Schi-king*, Heidelberg, 1880, Introduction.

[2] De Mailla, xi. p. 588.

[3] Callery and Ivan, *L'insurrection en Chine*, p. 50.

the national constitution into an imperial government, and ordered, in B.C. 212, the burning of all the old books, with the exception of medical and economical treatises, and those containing prophecies. Original documents were thus irrecoverably lost in the flames. When this dynasty broke up under the hands of his incapable successors, and in B.C. 201 the Hán dynasty assumed the reins of government, the *Schū-Kīng* was reproduced from memory, and soon also a hidden and secretly preserved ancient copy was discovered.[1] But far more corrupting and injurious than the burning of those books was the course of action entered on by the so-called philosopher and reformer, or rather deformer, Confucius, about B.C. 500, who, almost contemporaneously with Sakya-Muni, endeavoured, only too successfully, to introduce into China a system of purely worldly wisdom. His teaching consists in a barren morality founded upon eudæmonist rules of prudence. The charge against him is not so much that he argued against the ancient god of the Chinese, as that he ignored him, and taught the people to ignore him. In his edition of the *Schū-Kīng*, as well as in that of the *Schī-Kīng*, a collection of ancient songs, he has carefully struck out every reference to the early Chinese worship of god or of the gods; of 3000 songs, he has only given 315.[2] These expurgated editions of the two ancient documents constituted all that was preserved when, three hundred years later, the other literary products were committed to the flames. There is thus no very brilliant expectations excited in regard to the sources of information concerning the history of the early Chinese religion. Nevertheless even from these we shall be able to sketch its characteristic features. In turning our attention to this subject, we shall set aside Buddhism, the first traces of which are found in the south of China about A.D. 65, but which was first extensively spread, between A.D. 202 and 220, by the Buddhist missionary Ho-Chang, and only about A.D. 500, when the

[1] V. von Strauss, *Lao-tse's Tao-te-king*, p. lxx. ff.
[2] *Ibid.* p. xxxviii.

first Buddhist patriarch or Lama was appointed for China, began to play an important part; and we shall also decline to follow the story of the barren morality of Confucius.[1]

A. The Chinese religion acknowledges only one God, the invisible lord (Tí), or the supreme lord (Schàng Tí) and ruler of the world, whom it also designates Thiân, heaven, a designation which reminds us of the Mongolian name of God, Naga-tai, heaven's-tai. He is conscious, all-seeing, all-hearing, omnipresent, and incorporeal: he gives life, endues with wisdom, rewards the good, and punishes the evil. He provides for the course of the world, and determines it. Thus, as the unapproachable and supersensible, he exists in absolute separation from his creatures. The gulf between him and the visible world is filled by the souls of their deceased forefathers, who act as mediators, as with the West Mongols, and by a multitude of nature-spirits. The souls of the departed are with God in heaven. The invisible God is worshipped by offerings which the Emperor presents at the solstices on an altar of earth under the open canopy of heaven. The spirits of ancestors have their temples and halls, where offerings are brought them four times a year by the heads of families. There is no order of priests, and the fact that there is none, and that monarch, princes, and heads of families are required to perform the worship of God and of the ancestors, is an indication of a primitive condition having prevailed in China similar to that which we meet with in India during the Vedic period.

B. The want of a word for God is very striking. Such a word, however, had originally existed. In the oldest portions of the *Schū-King*, B.C. 2255–2206, the supreme being is once called Taò, and the philosopher or theosophist Laò-tsè, in the 6th century B.C., speaks of the Taò of antiquity. In the consciousness of the Chinese this name Taò was perhaps only an appellative, identical with the appellative *taò*, in Japanese

[1] An account of this system may be found in Stuhr, *Religionen des heidn. Orients*, p. 10 ff.

too, which has the root signification of way, and the derived significations of procedure, order, government of the world. The name of God, Taò, is also indicated by the same written sign. It nevertheless seems to me a fair question whether we have not rather in Taò a primitive proper name, identical with the Naga-tai of the West Mongols, preserved to us from a time when as yet the art of writing was unknown. When the art of writing was discovered by the Chinese, the sign for the apellative *taò* would be seized upon, and it would be thought that the name of God must be explained from the signification of that appellative term. The written sign for Taò, however, may much more plausibly be regarded as compounded of two signs, one of which, *tschhŏ*, stands for come or go, and the other, *scheù*, for head or origin, which when combined present the idea—"that from which all springs." This notion we find in the remarkable writing of Laò-tsè, a philosopher almost exactly contemporary with Khùng-tsè, Confucius. In his *Taò-tĕ-kīng*, which all the more easily escaped the book burning since Chi-Hoang-Ti, while hostile to Confucianism, was favourable to the Taò-ssée, the worshippers of Taò,[1] Laò-tsè developed in a theosophical manner the doctrine of the Taò antiquity.[2] Taò existed as an incomparably perfect being before the origin of the heavens and the earth (cap. 25), and before Tí (cap. 4). Incorporeal and immense, invisible and inaudible, mysterious and unsearchable, without form or figure (cap. 14), he is the eternal ultimate ground of all things (cap. 1), and the original creator of all being (cap. 4); as such he is unnameable, nameable only as revealed by the creation, and in this duplicate form the outlet of everything spiritual and intellectual (cap. 1). Everything springs from him and returns to him again (caps. 16 and 21), and it is his work to reproduce these things again (cap. 40); for though eternal and without any neediness, he is yet never inactive

[1] V. von Strauss, *Taò-tĕ-kīng*, p. lxxiii.

[2] *Taò-tĕ-kīng*, cap. 28: "who, born in the present age, goes back to the taò of antiquity."

(caps. 34 and 37). Never growing old, omnipresent, immutable, and self-determining (cap. 25), he creates, upholds, and perfects all existences, which, therefore, honour him and praise his goodness, because he loves them and allows them free self-determination (caps. 51 and 34). In him is spirit, and his spirit is the most genuine; yet only those who are purified from lust can see him (caps. 21 and 1). He who determines his conduct according to Taò is one with him (cap. 23); Taò is the ground of his moral life (cap. 38). He is the great giver, and perfecter, and peace-bringer (caps. 41 and 46), the refuge of all beings, the protection of the good, the saviour of sinners, and he who forgives their guilt (cap. 62).[1] It is quite evident now that Laò-tsè did not meet with the belief in Taò in such a form and at such a stage of development in the common religious conceptions of the people. It is, indeed, in the highest degree probable that he came into contact with fugitives and exiled Israelites of the ten tribes, recognised in their Jehovah the Taò of his own nation,[2] and was led by them to the attainment of such a profound knowledge of God. But he could not have recognised in the ancient Taò of his nation the God of revelation, and he could never have identified the two, unless the Taò of the Chinese had clearly been conceived of as the invisible creator of the world. In the *Schū-Kīng*, too, Confucius has allowed words in two passages to remain (i. 3, § 6 and § 15) which refer to the ancient Taò worship: "Oppose not Taò, so as to secure the praises of the hundred families." "Man's heart is fraught with danger; Taò's heart is fine, is pure, is one; wishes you to hold by him."

In the time of Laò-tsè the Taò worship among the people had no doubt become greatly corrupted. A portion of the people preserved alongside of the belief in Thîan-ti the belief

[1] V. von Strauss, *Taò-tĕ-kīng*, p. xxxv.

[2] Cap. 14: "His name is Ît Hi Wêi." How this suggests an acquaintance with the religion of Israel is shown in thoroughly convincing way by V. von Strauss (p. 61 ff.) in answer to Stanislas Julien.

in the old god Taò. They were called Taò-ssée. But they were distinguished from the rest of the people, so far as practice was concerned, only in their being addicted to sooth-saying, magic, astrology, and alchemy.[1] Laò-tsè exercised no influence upon them; he was and continues a lonely, private thinker. His book was in later times commented on by Confucianists, but in doing so they read into it their own ideas.[2] He has exercised no influence upon the Chinese people; hence all the greater became that of Khùng-tsè (Confucius), for the insipid Taò religion could offer no sufficient opposition to his superior enlightenment.

The question now arises, how did the god Taò stand in relation to the *thiân*, heaven, and to Schâng-tí, the supreme lord, not in Laò-tsè's time, but in these primitive ages which Laò-tsè himself designates antiquity? The passage in *Taò-tĕ-kĭng* seems to me of the utmost importance where Laò-tsè says: I know not whose son Taò is, that is, he is no one's son; he reveals himself as the ancestor of the Schâng-tí.[3] In the early Chinese religion, therefore, Schâng-tí, or what was the same, Thiân-tí, was a son of Taò. It is told, too, of an Emperor Schun, B.C. 2254–2204, that he offered sacrifices to Thian; in the *Lì-kí* (cap. 23) is found also the old sacrificial formula: "At the presentation of the solstice offering there is great praise rendered to heaven, and first of all to the sun, and also to the moon: the offering to the sun is made on an altar of earth, and to the moon in a pit." It thus appears that the lord of heaven of Chinese antiquity was no sun-god in the strict sense, that is, not to be identified as a deity with the sun, like the Japanese Ten-sio dai-sin, but still a

[1] V. von Strauss, *Taò-tĕ-kĭng*, Introd. p. lxxiii.

[2] *Ibid.* p. lxxvii.

[3] By this Laò-tsè cannot intend merely to say that the name of Taò is more ancient than that of Schâng-tí. For had this been his intention, he would have been obliged in some sort of way to indicate the identity of Schâng-tí with Taò; but he rather affirms that Taò is Schâng-tí's ancestor, in the same sense in which he denies that Taò has any ancestor, or has been begotten.

δεύτερος θεός, a lord and ruler of the visible heaven and its stars, subordinate to the eternal supreme god and creator of the world, Taò. The title of the Chinese emperor, Thiân-tsé, heaven's son, is literally identical with the Japanese *ten-si;* but while the latter is given to the Emperor of Japan as a descendant of the sun, there is no trace among the Chinese of their emperor having ever been regarded as descended from the sun; on the contrary, the offerings which the Emperor of China presents to his ancestors in his ancestral temple, and the offerings at the solstice, are quite distinct things. The title Thiân-tsé is therefore to be regarded as an abstract title of honour, or, at furthest, it may be conjectured that in primitive times the emperors of the oldest dynasty had regarded themselves as descendants, not of the sun, but of that son of Taò, Thiân-tí, and that the title, in the most general sense, had been assumed by emperors of succeeding dynasties, in regard to whom there could be no pretension of descent even from those who had preceded them. The Tchow dynasty, however, actually traced their descent back through Hëú-tsï to Schâng-tî.[1]

If, then, in early times there was placed alongside of Taò a son of Taò and Thiân-tí in an emanationistic rather than a polytheistic sense, it is quite conceivable that there was here, as well as among the Iranians, a reformatory reaction against this emanationistic development of religion, which showed

[1] The Hëú-tsï legend (in *Schï-Kïng*, iii. 2. 1) corresponds in its characteristic features to the Mongolian Buzend legend (§ 266). A woman, Kiäng-Juân, brings an offering to the lord of heaven, praying for the blessing of children; in perfect solitude she walks in the god's footsteps, and becomes pregnant. That she was impregnated by the god in the mythological fashion is not expressly stated, the redactor evidently putting this idea aside, or at least evading it, and favouring rather the supposition that the god simply granted her the blessing of fruitfulness, so that she became pregnant by her own husband. The old mythological form of the tradition, however, appears clearly enough from out of its artistic drapery. In the first place, it is quite manifest that according to the invariable custom of the *Schï-Kïng* the name of no earthly husband is given. Thus we observe that the child, the boy Hëú-tsï, was born without pain. Then the child was exposed, which is inconceivable if

itself in an attempt to identify Thiân-tí with Taò, to transfer the attributes of Taò to Thiân-tí, and to set aside altogether the name of Taò as superfluous and calculated to foster false doctrine. When this reaction set in, the product of which was called the religion of Syû, of the learned, in contrast to that of the Taò-ssée, it is not easy exactly to say. It was, at least, so long before the time of Laò-tsè that the pre-reformation time seemed to him a remote antiquity; yet it must have been subsequent to the writing of the section of the *Schū-Kīng*, i. 3. The old emanationistic religion of two gods only maintained its hold of a portion of the people, and that the very lowest of them, and continued to be developed in a superstitious manner in the form of soothsaying and magic. The lonely thinker, Laò-tsè, first became dissatisfied with the reduction of the Thiân-tí religion by his contemporaries to a system of abstract deism, and sought to lead them back to the Taò of antiquity, endeavouring in his name to construct his own profoundly speculative philosophy of religion. Thus would Laò-tsè have become the founder of a second reformation, if he only had gained disciples, and had been able to found a school.

From chapter 5 of Laò-tsè's work it appears that in his time the Chinese had a richer sacrificial ceremonial than they have had since the time of Khûng-tsè (Confucius).[1] There he speaks of the hay-dog, a dog made of hay, covered with

his birth had been eagerly longed for by the parents, but quite conceivable if the child, like Buzend, seemed an illegitimate. The exposed child is then wonderfully preserved and brought up by the wild beasts. We find underlying that version of the myth which, in the *Schī-Kīng*, corresponds to the abstract deistical Syû-religion, an older and purely mythological version, and this affords evidence of a mythological stage of the Chinese religion. We shall yet meet with (§ 298) among the Aztecs, who are descended from a Chinese-Mongolian stock, the Mongolian tradition of Buzend without any concealment of its mythological features; but it is most noticeable that the Aztec proper name of the child, Hwitzi, is more closely related to the Chinese Hëú-tsï than to the Old Mongolian Buzend.

[1] In the temple of agriculture in Pekin oxen were even then offered, and indeed burned alive. Hildebrandt, *Reise um die Erde*, ii. 161.

rich clothing, which was placed as an offering before the altar to avert bad luck, the influences of evil spirits;[1] but, after the offering had been made, its dress was taken off and it was torn up and scattered on the streets.

C. This leads to speak of the belief in spirits that prevailed among the ancient Chinese. This belief, in spite of Confucianism and Buddhism, has lingered among the people down to the present day. We do not here speak of the Shamanism that had its origin among the Ugro-Tartars (§ 263), which already at an earlier period, but especially from A.D. 1644, when the Mandshurian dynasty of Thsing came to the throne, may have been introduced from the north among some of the border tribes, but of the specifically Mongolian belief in spirits, which, as already the magical superstition of the Taò-ssée shows, was an integral constituent of the Old Chinese national religion, and even now is generally current throughout China. This belief in spirits stands in the closest connection with the specifically Mongolian practice of ancestor-worship. How deeply rooted this was in the national life in early times is shown by the fact that in every city a sort of temple, Khùng-tsè-kiā, is dedicated to the spirit of Khùng-tsè, in which he is invoked as a guardian spirit, and is entreated to look down on them with favour.[2] In the capital, too, there is a temple which is called "the hall of the ancestors," where the spirits of the departed members of the royal family are worshipped. The regular festival of this worship is called *tsin jun men*, gate of the pure clouds; the emperor betakes himself to a table laden with flowers and frankincense; the wall behind the table bears a tablet with the names of the ancestors, and a son or grandson of the emperor appears as Schī, the dead boy, dressed in the cloak of the most distinguished of the ancestors,

[1] This reminds of the dog Nasu, driven away by the Iranians, § 216.

[2] Barrow, *Travels in China*, chap. 4. The reverence for parents, grandparents, and old persons, everywhere prominent in the national life of the Chinese, carried so far that in order to flatter a young man it is customary to say, Thou art already very old, stands in close connection with this worship of ancestors.

takes his place on the seat of honour, and in his stead receives food, and drink, and homage, and dispenses good fortune and blessing. While sixteen dancers perform in a solemn circle, the emperor bows before the Schī and the tablet of names, and two series of musicians sing with musical accompaniment a hymn in three strophes, the oldest hymn extant, which, according to Chinese accounts, dates as far back as B.C. 1122. During the performance of the first strophe it is thought that the gods approach, during the singing of the second they linger about, and during the rendering of the third they again withdraw. Libations and prostrations fill up the pauses between the strophes.[1] Similar ceremonies are observed by the people. At the burial of a Chinaman the relatives offer rice-wine to the spirit of the deceased, pouring it out at the grave, and also gold paper, which they burn.[2] Besides the spirits of ancestors, guardian spirits of the soil and agriculture, of mountains and streams, are also honoured with offerings; but this is confined to the princes and noblemen.[3]

D. From the earliest times the dragon, Lûng, is the national emblem, appearing as such as early as B.C. 2100. In the *Schū-Kīng*, expurgated by Khùng-tsè, traditions about it are not found; but it may be supposed that the dragon or serpent had figured in the national myths in some sort of way as a guardian deity or as a god of the empire; and this supposition gains weight when we think of the bambo and the serpent of the southern races connected with the Mongolians (§ 267), and of the legends of the Japanese (§ 269), the founder of whose kingdom, Dsin mu ten, had a dragon for his grandmother. In fact, there is a great dragon festival

[1] Billert in Mendel's *musik. Convers. Lexikon*, ii. p. 410, where the text and music of the hymn are given.

[2] Hildebrandt, *Reise um die Erde*, iii. 4.

[3] Stuhr (p. 22 ff.) could only come to the opinion that Laò-tsè had first introduced this belief in spirits because Laò-tsè's book had been inaccessible to and unknown by him. There is not a word there about spirits and belief in spirits. The custom of setting up images to the spirits was introduced (according to Stuhr, p. 28) under the Song dynasty, which was peculiarly favourable to the Taò-ssée, between A.D. 1000 and 1300.

celebrated yearly at Canton on the 18th of June, where the dragon is called upon to give fruitfulness to the fields and an abundant fishing, and has his image borne about in procession through the streets.[1]

E. This brings us to the Chinese traditions. These begin as far back as B.C. 2900 with Pāo-hĭ or Fŭ-hi, who is said to have invented the figures (*kua*) of the Ĭ-kīng and the art of fishing. Then followed Schīn-nûng, who introduced agriculture, trades, and markets, B.C. 2837. Then came Hoāng-tí, B.C. 2697, who conquered China by the overthrow of the Emperor Tsche-jeu, during whose reign the laws were put in shape, and music was introduced by Ling-lün. But although the third of these heroes of tradition had been transplanted to China, they were all antediluvian heroes. It was during the reign of Iao, who is said to have begun to reign in B.C. 2657, that the flood, which submerged the whole kingdom, occurred in B.C. 2597. It was Iao who averted the flood by showing the streams their courses. It is very remarkable how this chronological statement agrees with that of the Bible. According to the Masoretic text of Genesis, the flood came in the year B.C. 2544; according to the Septuagint text, somewhat earlier (§ 248, *Obs.*).

To return now to Pāo-hĭ, Schīn-nûng, and Hoāng-tí, we see in these three as emperors successively reigning a reminiscence of the three brothers Tubal-Cain, Jabal, and Jubal, who introduced working in metals, the keeping of cattle, and the art of music, the remembrance of whom, we are persuaded, has been preserved among the most diverse nations of the earth.[2] The Chinese name of Noah, Iao, agrees literally with the Yima of the Iranians, the Ymir of the Germans. The Chinese tradition calls the first man Puan-ku.

Finally, we have still to mention the tradition of the Coreans, that the daughter of a river in the county of Fü-jü,

[1] Hildebrandt, *Reise um die Erde*, ii. 55 f.

[2] A more modern form of the tradition confounds Pāo-hĭ and Iao. See Klaproth, *Asia polyglot*, p. 28.

north of Corea, being impregnated by the sun, laid an egg, from which the first king of the Coreans was brought forth.[1] This is just that specifically Mongolian tradition which we have already come to know (§ 267), and have found in a more refined form among the Japanese.

Obs.—We have already spoken of the spirit and construction of the Chinese language, § 264, *Obs.* 1; and now we need only refer to the vocabulary. If the words of the Chinese language of the present day show little resemblance and literal relationship to synonymous words in the other Mongolian languages, this is to be explained on the following grounds.

A. The monosyllabic words of the Chinese language should not without more ado be assumed to be the literally well-conserved original roots. If we take *tschhî*, to run, *tschhìng*, horse, *ssè*, to operate, *ssè*, result, *sse* writer, *ssjû*, a scribe, *thsûn*, to exist, *thsün*, to preserve, etc., no one can for a moment suppose that the second word is a root word; its derivation is unquestionable.

B. If one considers the multitude and diversity of meanings which one and the same Chinese word has,—as when, for example, *jî* means slight, immediate, rightly, great, peaceable, contented, like, equally, to arrange, to root out, to destroy, to damage, to overturn,—there is here presented to us a process of derivation and change of ideas which is so great, that one must admit that, apart from current use, the oldest meaning and the most original can no longer with any certainty be discovered, as when, for example, *kūng* means bodies, but also art.

C. But also the pronunciation of the words has changed in no less a degree. In regard to a number of words, it is known with certainty that in early times they were pronounced otherwise than now; of no word can it be said with certainty that in early times it was pronounced as it is now. For the Chinese writing is not phonetic but notional; it does not indicate the separate letters of which the word consists, but has for the whole monosyllabic word one sign, and evidently an ancient picture writing lay at the basis of these signs.

D. If one considers the indefinite multitude of diverse, often quite unconnected dialects, so great that, for example, the inhabitants of Tientsin would scarcely understand the dialect of a native of Pekin, only a few days' journey distant (Hildebrandt, ii. 159), and as the so-called written language, more correctly the Mandarin dialect, is only one of these dialects, the pro-

[1] Gatterer, *Handb. der Universalhistorie*, part 2, p. 357. Lücken, *Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 181.

nunciation of this Mandarin dialect is no more decisive in the way of determining the original sound of these roots.

E. The extent of the verbal changes that the Chinese language has made upon the old Mongolian roots in the course of a thousand years may be calculated, on the one hand, from the way in which it formed the proper names of foreign nations, as when it rendered Shâkia by Schi, Kharisma by Ki-li-sse-mo, Kashgar by Kie-scha, etc.; on the other hand, from its having an indefinite number of homonyms, which are only distinguished by the accent; for example, *tschĭ*, to fix, to hold firm; *tschī*, to acknowledge; *tschî*, this; *tshí*, to heal; *tschhìng*, horse; *tschhîng*, to complete; *schíng*, holy; *schīng*, sound; *schîng*, sail; *tĭ*, to wash; *tí*, earth and ruler, etc. It is thus evident that roots originally different have been by mutilation made like one another, and only by means of the tone can be artificially distinguished. And often it cannot be done even in this way. For example, *mù*, finger, Mongolian *müsüm*, and *mù*, mother, Mongolian *amu*, have the same accent.

F. Since, then, it cannot be determined with any certainty, either from the present meaning or from the present pronunciation, what the original pronunciation and meaning of any particular word may have been, any comparison between it and other languages of the Mongolian group is well-nigh impossible. But where are those other languages? The Burmese, as well as the Japanese, has itself passed through an equally radical process of change, and this is beyond question true of the Tibetan language. The Mongols in the strict sense, however, had (§ 264, *Obs.* 2) already at a very early period, while under the Ugro-Tartar dominion, practically adopted the Ugro-Tartar language.

G. It is not, then, to be wondered at that in regard to a multitude of Chinese words it should be demonstrable or highly probable that there should be a similarity of sound with Burmese (W. von Humboldt above in § 264), with Nepaulese, Tibetan, Japanese (see the table of numerals in § 264), and also with such Mongolian words as the Mongols had not received from the Ugro-Tartars (§ 264, *Obs.* 2, *D*), or with such as (comp. under *A*) were derived from primitive roots common to the Japhetic languages. I may refer, for example, to *khiŭ*, old (*ukko*); *khí*, heath (*angga, henki*); *kieu*, guilt, sin (*qual, ghol*, to excite horror); *tschîn*, dust (*choso, chasy*); *te*, to reach (*tap*); *taò*, way (Japanese *too*, way; Mongol. and Ugrian *tul*, to come); *thíng*, to hear (*tun, don*, to hear, feel, perceive); *siaò*, small; *syeu*, pliant (*suikia, suicha*, thin); *yue*, to tell; *yŭ*, conversation (*yätte*, to tell); *ts*ai, to embrace (*sisä, sisi*, inward, to bound); *tsè*, teacher; *ts*ing, spirit (*sed, sod*, to think, to know; it seems that a reduplicated dental is modified into *ts*); *tsēng*, to quarrel (*tschigg, dsanggo, sög*); *sán*, to strew (*sata, dsata*, to rain); *syúi*, point;

suogge, tsoghol, to pierce, bore; *luán*, unquiet (*lügga, likka, läiky*, to rule oneself); *mūng*, blind (*menck*, weak, lame); *miáo*, spirit (*mede, miäle*, to know); *syĭ*, pronounced *shi*, sun (Tungusic *schiwun, schun*); *tsè* (Old Chinese *tsì*), son (Mongol. *-tschi, cke-tschi*, sister); *hâi*, child (*kunga, köwe*); *háo*, great; and *kuéi*, greatness (*guai*), etc.

§ 269. *Japan and its Religion.*

The insular empire of Wa or Jamato, as it was called in earlier times, or Nipon, as it has been called more recently, or Japan, more properly Shapan, as we are accustomed to call it, from the Chinese word *sgi-pun*, the sun-rising, or eastern land, has two different races among its inhabitants.[1] The Japanese tradition relates that Żen-mou-ten-wo arrived with his people from the West in B.C. 660, but found already a population resident upon the island of Nipon. These aborigines were driven eastward, and were designated Atsumadshebis or Eastern barbarians. Both races actually continued to exist down to A.D. 1100, and even after they had become thoroughly amalgamated they are distinguishable by the use of a different idiom in their written language which is not monosyllabic but agglutinate. At the present time a Ugro-Tartar tribe of Ainos lives on the coasts of the islands of Yezo and Turakai, and on the Kurile isles, reaching even to Kamtskatka and Mandshuria, which probably is identical with the Atsumadshebis, and forms the older element in the mixed population of Japan. Wernich[2] has satisfactorily proved that the Ainos, notwithstanding the peculiarly hairy aspect of body, stand closely related to the Japanese, while both are strongly distinguished from the Malays. That these Ainos are to be identified with the Atsumadshebis, and not

[1] Compare especially the following works: Klaproth, *histoire mythol. des Japons.* Phil. von Siebold, *Nippon.* Mitford, *Tales of Old Japan.* Eufemia von Kudriaffsky, *Japan, vier Vorträge.* Al. von Hübner, *Spaziergang um die Welt*, part 1, pp. 267–396. A. Wernich, *geogr. medic. Studien nach den Erlebnissen einer Reise um die Erde*, Berlin 1878, pp. 56–286.

[2] Wernich, *Studien*, p. 112 ff.

with the hordes of Zen-mou-ten-wo, is hardly to be questioned. The latter were undoubtedly a Mongolian race. They were followed, in B.C. 209, by a second immigration from China under Ziko-suku, in Chinese Seu-fuh, who introduced the arts. Thus the Old Japanese language, *furu-koto*, which was used down to A.D. 1600, was one closely connected with the Mongolian, with some Chinese words interspersed (Kudriaffsky, p. 183). That Malays also occasionally landed in Japan, and got mixed up with the native races, has been abundantly proved.[1] A sort of picture writing, which is found on some very old monuments,[2] may have belonged to these Malays. The use of paper was introduced about B.C. 600. At first the Chinese ideogramme was employed. This, however, did not suit for the agglutinate speech of Japan, and so, soon after A.D. 700, the Japanese syllable-systems *kata-kana* and *fira-kana*, of forty-eight signs, were invented by Kobo, and from that time until now have continued in use. The art of reading and writing is universally acquired, and a rich literature has been produced, especially since A.D. 1206, when the book trade with China was opened up. The Japanese were great sailors in early times: they possessed mighty fleets, and their merchant vessels sailed as far as to Bengal. In consequence of a revolution in A.D. 1585, seafaring and the fleet were destroyed, and an edict of A.D. 1638 shut out Japan from intercourse with foreign lands, and forbade any attempt thereat.

As early as A.D. 543, Buddhism had been introduced from Corea and was made the State religion. The Japanese name of Buddha is *Shaka*. It is well known that until lately there

[1] Round half-precious stones, *maga-tamas*, are regarded in Japan as presents of the sun-goddess, but had already, according to Japanese tradition, been in use by the original inhabitants, and that in the twofold character of instruments of exchange and barter and of things sacred. We may compare therewith the (§ 272) *bracks* of the inhabitants of the Malay-Melanesian island Palau.

[2] Braunschweig, *amerik. Denkmäler.* Rauch, *Einh. des Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 317.

existed not only a spiritual head, the Mikado, who had also the title Dairi, great house, but also a secular head, the Shiogun or Tycoon, who had an almost equal jurisdiction. The Dairis are properly the descendants of the old national royal family, and as such have been greeted from the earliest times with divine honours; the Shioguns, as a sort of major-domo and marshal of the empire, had, from the end of the 12th century, assumed the greater part of the civil power, and were the patrons and representatives of Buddhism, but were attacked by the present Mikado and completely overthrown, the Sintu temples were stripped of Buddhist emblems, and the fiefs (*han*) of the vassal princes (*daimios*) were confiscated. Long before Buddhism, *büttoo*, even in A.D. 288, the doctrine of Confucius (*sintu*) had found entrance from China into Japan. But the two imported religions were not able to drive out the old national religion, which even in the present day numbers many among its followers, although it has become corrupted by the introduction of many Buddhist elements. The details of its earlier, unadulterated form are given in the religious legends preserved in the Japanese literature.

This old national religion, since the introduction of Buddhism, and in order to mark its distinction from it, has been designated by the Chinese word *Sintu*, the way or doctrine of spirits, and in Japanese words *kami-no-mits*, *kami* signifying a good spirit or a guardian spirit. The ruling family is descended from Zen-mou-ten-wo, and through him from the sun, just as in the Mongolian tradition and in that of China. The Mikado bears the predicate *ten-si*, son of heaven, and is in his nature so sacred and divine, that he dare not be designated by his name, but only described as the *dairi* of the royal palace. His race can never die out; for, if a Mikado be childless, there is found always quite unexpectedly under a tree of the palace a little boy chosen out of a *Kuge* or old noble family and laid there by its contriving, who is considered a present from heaven, and is adopted as successor

to the throne. All this is an order of things quite similar to that which primitively prevailed in Mongolia, which Buddhism has not been able to efface; Japan, however, required no superior-lama, for it already possessed in its own Mikado a direct offshoot of deity. Sintuism distinguishes, as all Mongolian religions do, the invisible and far distant deity, and the present and guardian deities which are around men; but it has this peculiarity, that it endeavours to secure a transition from the one to the other, and for this cause divides the god of heaven into seven heavenly gods, to which are added five earthly gods. The former are the world-ruling powers. But even this doctrine, as it is reported in Japanese literature, shows unmistakeable traces of Buddhist influences, so that in this form it cannot possibly be regarded as the old genuine national religion. First of all chaos existed, while as yet heaven and earth, male and female, were not distinguished. Then the bright, pure part gathered itself together above as heaven; the heavy, dark part gathered itself together below as sea; and floating upon the latter, the dry land gathered itself together (comp. § 265). Between heaven and earth there grew in the form of a flower a *kami*, by name Kuni toka tatsi no mikkoto, "worthy of the reverence of the ever-enduring empire," and has ruled for a hundred thousand millions of years. He produced for himself a water-spirit, that one, again, a fire-spirit, and that one, next, a wood-spirit, who had a wife, and ruled along with her two hundred thousand millions of years. These huge numbers plainly reveal the Buddhist origin of the fables! These were succeeded by a metal-spirit with his wife, and sixthly by an earth-spirit and his wife, each ruling during an equally long period. Then these spirits have offspring, but not through intercourse with their wives; and this is thoroughly in keeping with Buddhist influences. It is the seventh, Isa-na-gi,[1]

[1] According to the modern form of the language: wanderers of man. More correctly, the Old Turanian *isa*, "father," is taken as the fundamental meaning.

who first begets in this way, and he produces one after another the islands of the Japanese empire, and afterwards all the rest of the world. Thereafter—and here we come upon genuine remnants of the myth—he begot as mistress of the world a noble and lovely daughter, whom he set as the sun in the heaven, Ten-sio-daï-sin, sun-heat, great spirit, and then her sister the moon. The god begat also two brothers, the younger of which, on account of his violent passion, challenged the sister of the sun to a fight, which interrupted the husbandry fostered by her, and so frightened her that she wounded herself with her weaver's spool, and enraged thereat betook herself to a cave. Then the whole world was darkened. The eight hundred thousand gods (the numbers again suggest derivation from Buddhism) brought her back again by persuasion and force, and cast her brother down to the earth, where he delivered men from a dragon which was slaying them.

Ten-sio-daï-sin is the first of the five earthly deities, and among the Japanese the most highly honoured. Her son, the first king of Japan, is the second of the earthly deities, and here begin the spirits of ancestors or ancestral gods. What has to be added later on of the part they play in the struggle between good and evil spirits is again purely Buddhistic and worthless. All the more genuine and important is that which is narrated about the third of the earthly deities, Amatsu-fiko, grandson of the sun. His bride became pregnant before marriage: she offered during her pains to set fire to her soul; if she remained unconsumed, it would be a sign that the child was her bridegroom's. In the flames, remaining unburnt, she bore three sons. We met with this very identical legend among the Mongols, § 266; only by the Buddhists it is rent from its proper position: the sun-god was a male,[1] and she who bore was made pregnant by him. This was evidently

[1] Is Ten-sio-daï-sin actually a female deity? Or has the Old Japanese language had originally only one word to designate both son and daughter?

the original of the legend; but Buddhism cannot be satisfied without an elaboration of the simple story. A similar story is retold in that of the fourth earthly deity, Amatsu-fiko's son, who marries Dshebidsu, a daughter of the sea-god; he watches his wife during her confinement; she changes herself for shame into a dragon, and destroys herself in the sea. The fifth, finally, begets Zen-mou-ten-wo, the founder of the Japanese empire.

When we have distinguished the genuine original germ from its Buddhistic admixture, we have left—(*a*) the distinction between the spirits of ancestors and the heavenly, world-creating deity; (*b*) the classifying of the sun-god among the earthly or ancestral gods; and (*c*) in close connection therewith, the tradition of the origin of the father of the ruling family from the sun. These three particulars are genuinely Mongolian. On the other hand, the conception of the Japanese, that after death souls lose themselves in universal being, is distinctly Buddhistic; while in contrast to this, as representing the Old Mongolian element, we have the belief that the souls of the Mikados are immortal, as much as the prevailing belief among decided adherents of Sintuism is in the immortality of all men and in an existence after death. Apart from such a belief in immortality, the worship of spirits of ancestors could have no meaning.

This result of a critical investigation of the Buddhist legends is confirmed by an examination of the Sintuism of the present day as distinguished from the present form of Buddhism in Japan. It is a characteristic feature in the contrast of these two, that the adherents of Sintuism use for deities the word *kami*, lord or ruler, also *ssin*, spirits; and the Buddhists use the word *hotoke;* that the former have not zinc-roofed, but straw or wood-roofed temples (*dshasiro*), in which a mirror is found as the image of the sun, while among the Buddhists the mirror is the emblem of the value of good works; that besides they have *miyas*, private chapels, where the ancestral god, *gohei*, is represented by a tuft of five different coloured strips of paper.

The gods presently worshipped by the adherents of Sintuism are these: the sun-goddess Ten-sio-dai-ssin, the god of travel and roads Saveno-kami or Dsiso, the thunder-god Rai-dshin (thunder they call *kami-nari*, the noise of god), the water-god Sui-idshiu, etc. Alongside of these they have guardian deities for everything conceivable: Fukuno-kami for prosperity, Tschi-no-okura for marriage, Gun-dshui for defence in war, Funa-dama for seamen, Jnari for cultivation of rice, Kodshin-do-kodshin for cooking, that the rice may not burn, Yabukidsho-kami against pestilence, etc. The dragon is a great guardian spirit of the nation: to him serpents, as a sort of incarnation, are sacred, and hence are regarded as inviolable.[1] The worship of ancestors is a most elaborate ceremonial. If the parents of the bridegroom are dead, their images take their place at the marriage. In the event of a death, the deceased has an accompanying name given him, *oku-rina*, which is written on a tablet, hung up in the temple, and worshipped with frank-incense. For seven weeks after the death there is a weekly festival of the dead celebrated; the name-tablet and the image of the dead, with those of his ancestors, are collected, and vessels with fruits, flowers, and food are placed before them; after the seventh celebration, the deceased is supposed to have been received among the blessed. Great and wise men are apotheosed into *kamis* and canonized; thus, for example, from the Emperor Adshin, A.D. 270–313, we have the warrior deity Hatsiman. The priests are called *kami-nusi*, hosts or keepers of the gods. It is not very easy to determine whether the pantomimic struggle,[2] which the priests carry on during certain festive seasons with invisible enemies or evil spirits, is an element which genuinely belongs to Sintuism or to Buddhism.

The following legends current among the adherents of Sintuism are specially worthy of attention. Yamato, whose name at once reminds us of that of Yima in the Iranian legends, § 224, slew an eight-headed dragon, who had required

[1] Hübner, *Spaziergang um die Erde*, i. 350. [2] *Ibid.* 303 ff.

that a yearly sacrifice of the daughter of a king should be made to him. According to one version of the story, this Yamato lived nineteen hundred years ago. According to another version, he lived before Zin-mou-ten-wo. At the age of forty-five years, Zin-mou-ten-wo undertook, along with his brothers and his sons, a voyage by sea to the East; a pilot led the way in a tortoise-shell. When a severe storm broke out, they offered up the two brothers of Zin-mou-ten-wo to the water-god. When he landed on the island of Yamato in Japan, he encountered a bear, but succeeded in driving him off without being injured. Then appeared a man, and handed him the sword Tsurugi, which Yamato had found on the tail of the slain dragon (hence Yamato was older than Zin-mou-ten-wo), and a goddess promised to send him a raven as a guide. This raven, just like that of the German ancestral god (Wodin, § 260), is a reminiscence of *Noah's raven*. In the Japanese tradition, the reminiscence of the leader of their special immigration into Japan is confounded with the reminiscence of the continuance of the flood. Alongside of Yamato, by means of a reduplication similar to those of the Iranians and Greeks, they have a second dragon-slayer, Dsharimarisa, who destroyed a dragon, Nuge, which threatened the Dairi. There are also sacred animals: the fox, sacred to the sun; the tortoise, the heron, the cock, and (as the emblem of luck) the crab. In the spring the Sintuists celebrate a feast, when they beseech the *kame* of the earth for favour in agricultural matters. In autumn they have a second feast, when they thank him for the harvest. They have also the custom of prayer at the family table, and prayer at the rising and setting of the sun. Instead of the belief that men may assume the shape of animals, the converse notion prevails in Japan, that animals may assume the shape of men, in order to bewitch men and cause them terror.

C.—The Malay Races.

§ 270. *The Unity of the Malay-Polynesian Group of Tribes.*

While the idea of an immigration of the various nationalities of the Asiatic and European continent from the banks of the Euphrates presents no difficulty, so that there is no physical impediment preventing our adoption of the idea of their original unity of stock; when, on the other hand, the matter is viewed from the standpoint of natural science,—a peopling of the scattered islands of Polynesia from the continent of Asia is highly improbable and even inconceivable, and indeed all the more inconceivable, if we are to regard the original population of the earth as existing in a condition of rude barbarism. That in each of those islands or groups of islands a distinct native population had been developed from a purely animal condition, may appear to many a one[1] more feasible than the bold geological hypothesis,[2] that the Polynesian groups of islands had, during the period of man's existence, been connected with the Asiatic mainland, and that, after they had been peopled, they were separated and made into islands, either by a volcanic catastrophe, or by a gradual process of submersion. The Javanese have, indeed, a tradition that Java was once a peninsula and afterwards became an island:[3] and also in regard to the Sunda islands, which are separated from the continent only by a shallow sea; and in regard to the volcanic group of Sumatra, Java, Lambock, Sambana, Flores, Timor, Banda, Ternata, Mindanor, and Lüzon, such a hypothesis might be urged with a high degree of probability. Such an idea, however, could by no possibility be urged in regard to the islands of Polynesia, for the simple reason that a volcanic convulsion which had riven into small fragments and, as it were, pulverised a continent extending from 23° S. to

[1] Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker.*
[2] Forster, Carli, de Mas, Vogt.
[3] Rauch, *Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 340.

30° N. latitude, and from 140° to 230° East longitude, and so embracing an extent of something like 85,000 square miles, would have utterly destroyed every vestige of life on the portions of land which were allowed still to exist. The submersion hypothesis is rather more plausible. Polynesia is really one of those regions where a long-continued process of submersion has been observed;[1] but in order to reach the notion of Polynesia forming part of the continent, this submersion must be conceived as having commenced at least a hundred thousand years before the present day,[2] and must thus be relegated to an age prior to the origin of the human race.[3] Thus, then, purely from the standpoint of natural science the hypothesis of separate native races would have most to recommend it, if only the conclusion was well founded, that the original inhabitants were too rude to be able to sail over a great tract of sea. At the present day, indeed, such tribes as those of the Pelew islands, so thoroughly degraded and fallen into barbarism, or, according to that hypothesis, remaining barbarous, venture upon voyages to the far outlying island-groups;[4] why should the same thing not have been possible in earlier times? Cook found on these islands entire fleets, one consisting of seventeen hundred ships, each one manned by forty men.[5] The inhabitants of the Tonga islands kept up a lively intercourse with the Fiji islands and the New Hebrides. Forster and Cook obtained from a native of the Society islands a sort of map, on which the Marquesas, Tahiti,

[1] Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, i. 9 ff.

[2] Peschel in *Ausland*, 1864, p. 363.

[3] As we have seen from purely scientific grounds (§ 168), the Ice Age can at farthest be dated back to a period of 10,000 years ago. Compare Kirchoff, *die Sudseeinseln*, p. 245 (in Frommel and Pfaff, *Samml. von Vorträgen*, iii. 9): "The flora make it quite plain to us that here we have before us the last remnants of a portion of the primitive antediluvian world before the development of the mammalians and long before the Tertiary period. For on the Fiji islands fifty per cent., and on the Hawaiian group sixty per cent., of the plants are indigenous."

[4] Semper, *die Palau-Inseln*, Leipz. 1873.

[5] Kennedy, *Essais*, p. 137.

Samoa, and the Fiji islands were marked.[1] In these same islands Forster found a native who was able to name more than eighty islands spread over a surface of thirteen or fourteen hundred miles, which he had himself, for the most part, visited. In 1824 the inhabitants of Anaa undertook a voyage to Tahiti, a distance of three hundred miles.[2] A promontory in Hawaii[3] is designated by the natives "toward Tahiti," though the one is between twenty-seven and twenty-eight hundred miles distant from the other. The Tongan language has no other words for north and west than toward Samoa, toward Fiji.[4] These fleets do not any longer exist; the shipping industry has fallen into decay. Here, as everywhere, we meet with the degradation, not the elevation, of races. But it may here be asked, what means had these people at command in order that without compass and instruments for taking observations they might find their way upon the high seas? The Hawaiians still preserve a tradition that their forefathers had made long voyages with their whole fleets, and had kept their course by means of the stars.[5] A second means of determining their whereabouts were the sea-birds, following the flight of which the ships were sure to reach land somewhere. The boats of the Polynesians, though small in comparison with our ships, are yet skilfully constructed for battling with rough water, for they are protected against the surging waves by an outrigger, a suspended boom, or by being formed as a double canoe. Thus the fundamental presupposition of the hypothesis of distinct native races is utterly shattered by the history of recent voyages of discovery.

If we turn now to the legends of the Polynesian races, we find among the Sandwich islanders the tradition that they are originally from Tahiti, and there they place their paradise.[6]

[1] See in Rauch, *Einheit der Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 342 f.

[2] Beechy in *Ausland*, 1860, p. 446.

[3] Pickering, *Races of Man*, p. 298.

[4] W. von Humboldt, "Kawi-Sprache," *Abhandl. der Berl. Akad. des Wissensch.* 1832, iii. p. 241 ff.

[5] Pickering, *Races of Man.*

[6] Ellis, *Reise nach Owaii*, Hamb. 1827, pp. 220, 243.

New Zealand is thickly peopled in the north, thinly in the south, showing that there was an immigration there from the seafaring islands. The Pelew islanders placed their paradise and the land of their origin in the West.[1] We do not, however, need to rely upon these traditions. The language alone will decide, and completely put to confusion the hypothesis of distinct native races. Whoever, from the higher ground of general culture, refuses to allow himself to be followed in a one-sided manner by the reading of researches in natural science and by hypothesis, and takes into account the notices given by travellers of their linguistic discoveries, will only treat the hypothesis of distinct native races as a subject of ridicule. It was proved as early as 1832, by W. von Humboldt,[2] that the inhabitants[3] of Madagascar, Java, Celebes, Sumatra, Malacca, New Zealand, and the whole insular region of Polynesia between 30° N. and 30° S. latitude, and within a curve extending from New Zealand to Easter island, from thence to the Sandwich islands, and from thence to the Philippines, speak languages that belong to one and the same stem. If any one wishes to be more thoroughly convinced, he may examine the comparative tables of roots given by Buschmann on pp. 241–256, and 264, which occupy seventeen folio sheets. (See *Obs.* 1.) It is a fact that one and the same Malay race inhabit Madagascar, the Sunda islands, and Polynesia. This Malay race has spread out from 60° to 250° E. longitude, if we draw a line from Madagascar over Celebes to Hawaii, a linear distance of 170 degrees, or over 10,000 miles. Evidently, before the Mongols, the Malays had overrun India, as the Mongols did before the Aryans. Driven out before these two, the Malays wandered toward the coast, westward to Madagascar, and the greater part eastward to the Sunda islands; another portion migrated to China (comp. § 268, the Miao-tse),

[1] Semper, *die Palau-Inseln.*

[2] *Abhandlungen der Berl. Akad. d. W.* 1832, vols. ii.–iv.

[3] With the exception of the Melanesian tribes, of which we shall treat in § 273.

and then, pressed by the Chinese, moved toward the Philippines and the various groups of the other Polynesian islands.[1] From these facts it follows that even in a very remote antiquity the Malays must have been very expert as a seafaring people. This character of bold and fearless seamen is in fact retained down to the present day by the natives of the Sunda islands, and by the Polynesians down to the times of Captain Cook. Historical records prove that in the 12th and 13th centuries there existed a mighty shipping and trading Malay State, having its capital at Singapore, the southern point of Malacca.[2] When the Portuguese first came into the Indian Archipelago, they found Menangkabu the centre of a great trade with the East and the West, and with a command of the sea beyond anything then known in Europe. One of the fleets numbered ninety ships, among which were twenty-five large galleons; a second had three hundred ships, of which eighty were of 400 tons burthen each; a third had five hundred ships, having in their crews six thousand men.[3] The historical records of the Chinese carry us back to a yet more remote period;[4] and so early as A.D. 417–423, Chinese ships found a civilised people at Java. In these regions, too, we now find, in comparison with those early times, a thorough degradation of race, especially in Polynesia, the inner causes of which will be treated of in a later section. The causes of corruption are of a religious and moral nature, and it did not require first the visits of European ships in order to inflict upon the people the doom of decay and diminution of population. Europeans already found them a race abandoned to corruption, and the process of decrease in population and degradation of character had already set in long before the

[1] And then (§ 269) from the Philippines, and even directly from China to Japan.

[2] This peninsula, according to the native records of the Malays, had been taken and was overrun by the Malays from Sumatra.

[3] Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 424. Bradford, *American Antiquities*, p. 232. In Rauch, *Einheit Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 341 f.

[4] W. von Humboldt, *Abhandl. der Berl. Akad.* ii. p. 16 f.

arrival of the first Europeans. When Europeans discovered the Tortoise islands or Galapagos group, lying close to South America, as well as the islands of Bourbon and Juan Fernandez, and also the Falkland islands at the southern point of South America, they were found to be already destitute of inhabitants, but they found on them evident traces of their having been inhabited at an earlier period.[1]

While thus the researches that have been made in the comparative science of language demonstrate the unity of the Malay races, we find this also confirmed by an examination of their bodily construction. That varieties appear among them will be matter of surprise to no thinking person. In the Ugro-Tartar family the Finns and Esthonians are distinguished from the Tsherimis, Votiaks, and Balkash-Tartars; among the Mongolians the Kalmucks are different from the Chinese and Japanese; and these last again are as different from the Tibetans as the Javanese are from the Tahitians and the Malagassy. A diversity that has grown up during hundreds or thousands of years amid various conditions of life and civilisation, is accounted for by variations of climate and the relative isolation of their insular dwellings, shows itself naturally in the colour of the skin and in the physiognomy; the Polynesians, who go naked during an eternal spring, must have a darker colour than the Sunda islanders and Malagassy, who have retained certain customs of civilisation. The light colour of the skin is common to all the Malay-Polynesian tribes, ranging from brownish yellow and light brown to a reddish hue, in marked contrast to the Melanesians, § 273; and the shape of the skull and general configuration of the body reminds us of the Mongolian family. We are thus led to define the Malays as a Mongol-Aryan or Mongol-Caucasian mixed race. The view of Oscar Peschel in the *Races of Man*, p. 359, and Otto Mohnicke (*Banka und Palembang*, Munster 1874, p. 180 f.), is extremely probable, that the Malays are a race that was early broken off from the primitive Mongoloid

[1] Ellis in Rauch, *Einheit Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 341 f.

stem, and that they bear to the Mongols a relation similar to that borne by the Basques to the Celts.[1] The statistical relations, too, are analogous. The Mongolian races, if we reckon only one-half of the mixed races of Tungus and Mandshurians, number somewhere about four hundred and twenty millions; the Malays, great as the space is over which they are spread, number at furthest no more than two and a half millions.

Obs. 1.—The principal Malay languages are these: The Malagassic, the Malayan in the narrower sense, as confined to Malacca, the Javanese, the Bugish in Celebes, the Tagalic in the Philippines, the Tongan in the Tonga islands, the Maoric in New Zealand, the Tahitian in the Society islands, and the Hawaiian in the Sandwich islands. Here we give only a few illustrations of the relation subsisting between these languages. Eye is in Malag. Javan. Bug. Tag. Maori, Tah. *mata*, in Tong. *matta*, in Haw. *maka*, Malagass. *masse*. Tree is in Malay, Jav. *kaju*, in Tag. *cahui*, in Tong. *acow*, in Maori *racau*, in Tah. *raau*, in Haw. *laau*, in Malag. *hazo*. To plant is in Mal. *tanam*, in Jav. *tanem*, in Tong. *tano*, in Maori and Tah. *tanu*, in Haw. *kanu*. Blood is in Mal. *darah*, (*a*) in Jav. *rah*, in Malag. *râ*, (*b*) in Bug. *dara*, in Tag. *dugo*, in Tong. *tawto*, in Maori and Tah. *toto*, in Haw. *koko*. Earth is (1) in Mal. Jav. Bug. *tana*, in Malag. *tane;* (2) in Mal. *benua*, in Bug. *wanua*, in Tag. *banjan*, in Maori *wenua*, in Tah. *fenua*, in Haw. *honua* and *aina*. Fire is in Mal. and Bug. *api*, in Sav. *hapi*, in Tag. *hapon*, in Tong. *afi*, in Maori *ahi*, in Tah. *auahi*, in Haw. *ahi*, in Malag. *affe* or *fe*. Fruit is in Mal. *buah*, in Jav. *woh*, in Bug. *buwa*, in Tag. *bonga*, in Tong. *foa*, in Haw. *hua*, in Tah. *hodu*, in Malag. *voha*, etc. The Javanese, Tagals, and Bugis possess the art of writing; but their alphabets were of Indian origin. (W. von Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*, part 2, p. xi.)

Obs. 2.—In the Malay languages, much more distinctly than in those of the nations belonging to the Mongolian group, we can trace a relationship with the Aryan languages; a new proof that the process in the direction of monosyllabism and of immoderate change of pronunciation in the Mongolian languages belongs to a secondary stage. *Gerang, kerah, kahik,* Old Sanscr. *garan, garas,* γεραιός, γῆρας. *Lava, loa, loma, lumu* (old), *lagui*, great, long, Lat.

[1] That in Java, besides Aryan-Indian or Brahmanical influences, there may have been an intermixture of Aryan-Indian blood, is not at all incredible.

longus. *Maka, mata*, eye, Sanscr. *mukka*. *Mauna, maua, moonga*, mountain, Lat. *mons*. *'Bukit*, heap, Old High Germ. *piokan*, to curve, bend, *puhil*, hillock. *Tana*, earth, χθών (which is not connected, as Curtius thinks, with χαμαί, *humus*). *Lema* in Javanese means earth (as matter), Old High Germ. *lîm, lêma, leim, lehm*, loam. *Benua, bajan, fenua*, land, βαίνειν, Lat. *venire*. *Kai, ki, cain*, to eat, Old High Germ. *chiuwan, kauen*, to chew. *Run-toh*, to fall, Lat. *ruere*. *Padang*, a plain, πέδιον, Sanscr. *pad*. *Vaoo, wenua*, wilderness, waste, Old High Germ. *wasda*, Lat. *vastus*. *Gni, genni, ahi, auahi, ahi*, fire, Sanscr. *agni*, Lat. *ignis*. *Ika, isda, ika, hiwah*, fish, ἰχθύς, Lat. *piscis*, Celt. *iasc*. *Būah, buwa, foa, hua*, fruit, Sanscr. *bhu*, φύω. *Poa, pe, fe, vae*, food, ποῦς, Lat. *pes*, Sanscr. *pad-*. *Dshadi*, to become, Sanscr. *dshan*, γεν-. *Per-dshadi*, to be born, Lat. *parere* (comp. Sanscr. *prathuka*, πόρσις, πόρτις, Old High Germ. *far, farre*, bullock). *Semu, hesmu* (Jav.), sight, Ugro-Finnic *silm, szem*, Gothic *saihvan*, to see. *Ambou* (Malag.), both, *ambo*, ἀμφί. *Sova, soa, sora* (Malag.), good, σῶς. *Bulu, wulu, bolo*, wool, down, Old High Germ. and Finnic *wula, wule*, comp. Lat. *pluma*. *Dulam*, house, θάλαμος (which is not derived from θάλπω). *Tangan, tang, tahan*, hand, Sanscr. *tang*, Lat. *tangere*, comp. Germ. *zange*, a pair of tongs. *Houdis, hoditte*, skin, κύτος, Lat. *cutis*, Old High Germ. *hût, haut*. *Kulit, uli, houlits* (Malag.), skin, comp. κλείω, *claudo*. *Rangi, rai, langi*, heaven, from root *r*, to go (from movements of the stars). *Harsa, jarsa, harec*, to hear, Sanscr. *sru*, κλύειν, Old High Germ. *hôrjan, horran*. *Mamah*, to chew, Lat. *mandere*, comp. Sanscr. *mrd*, Lat. *mordere*. *Kunjah, kenjuh, ngongo, gnow*, to chew, gnaw, χναύω, Old High Germ. *chiuwan*. *Vidi, vanga*, to sell, ὠνέομαι, Lat. *veneo* and *vendo*. *Hanac, zanaka, anak, kane*, son, *zend, hunu*, Sanscr. and Goth. *sunus*, υἱός. *Baitschu* (Bug.), little, Celt. *becc*. *Mara, malasa, mare, mai, marare*, ill, Lat. *morbus*, comp. *malus*. *Doule* (Malag.), illness, Lat. *dolor, dolere*. *Ahinh, aina* (Malag.), breath, Sanscr. and Goth. *ahma*. *Maha* (Tong.), empty, void, Lat. *mancus*, Old High Germ. *mangen, mankolôn*. *Liuanag, lama*, light, Lat. *lumen, lux*, Old High Germ. *lioht*. *Lahut, luut, lot*, sea, Lat. *lacus*, Celt. *loc* and *ler*. *Mahina, marama* (Polyn.), moon, Old High Germ. *mâne*. *Mulut, mulu*, month, Germ. *maul*, Old High Germ. *mûla*. *Mu, amu, ma, matua, medua, maku*, mother, Sanscr. *mâtr*, μήτηρ, etc. *Haran, ngalan, hingoa, jeneng, juluk*, name, comp. *harsa, jarsa, harec*, to hear, as given above. *Parau, para, bola*, to speak, φράζειν. *Pipi, bibi*, cattle, βοῦς, Lat. *bos*, etc., and *dshawi, sapi*, cattle, Sanscr. *gaus*, Old High Germ. *chuo, kuh*, cow. *Kakano*, seed-corn, κόκκος. *Sarem, sira, garam*, salt, ἅλς, Lat. *sal*, etc., *r* being convertible with *l*. *Sawang*, to see, Goth. *saihvan*. *Quita, kitea, ite, hita*, to see, recognise, know, Sanscr. *vid-*, εἶδον, οἶδα, Lat. *videre*, Old High Germ. *vîtan, wîzzên*. *Ada*, to be, Sanscr.

as. Lâ, râ, sun, Celt. *lâ, látha*, comp. Egypt. *ra. Mati, mate*, to die, comp. Lat. *mori. Tonoc, tinging*, sound, Lat. *sonus, tinnire. Mahira, hari, arao*, day, comp. Sanscr. *mar*, μάρμαρος ἦμαρ. *Ao* (Polyn.), world and bright, Sanscr. *gaus*, γαῖα, αἶα. *Pa, pâpa, bapak*, father, πάππας, Lat. *papa*, comp. *pitr*, πατήρ, *pater*, Old High Germ. *fadar. Tutap, tutup, taboo, opani*, to cover, Lat. *taber, zeppich* (from root *teg-*). *Punu, pono, fenu*, full, Sanscr. *par, pûr*, Lat. *plenus*, πίμπλημι. *Pili, fili*, to choose, βούλομαι, Lat. *velle*, Goth. *viljan*, Old High Germ. *wellan*, to will. *Halas, alök, hala, ala, ulu*, forest, wold, Old High Germ. *haruc. Wahine, fafine, babaji, bai, winah*, wife, Old High Germ. *wîp, weib. Angin, hangin, mat-angi*, wind, air, Sanscr. *ana*, ἄνεμος, Finn. *henka, angga*, Mongol. *angkil*, see § 264, *Obs.* 2, *A. Wilang, bilang*, to count, root ἀρ in ἀριθμός, *r* changing into *l. Lela, lila, lidah*, tongue, comp. Lat. *lingua, lingere*, Old High Germ. *lekjan*, and Lat. *lambere. Telinga*, ear, comp. Old High Germ. *chlingan, klingen* (the interchange of the guttural and dental consonants cannot occasion surprise, since among the Malay languages the transition from the one to the other is very frequent).

§ 271. *The Religion of the Malays.*

The old original religion of this Malay-Polynesian race can be ascertained only in its leading features, and even in respect of those only with difficulty. For in those lands which have a history, the primitive religion is not only mixed up with Brahmanical and Buddhistic elements, but lies buried under a layer of Indian influences spread over more than a thousand years. Where, however, as in Polynesia, it has continued to exist undisturbed by and unmixed with foreign ingredients, there is wanting, on the other hand, a history, so that we know the Polynesian religion only in the stage of its uttermost decay, such as it presents in the most recent times, during Cook's voyages round the world.

A. In Java, Brahmanical influences and immigrations can be traced with certainty by means of the monuments down to A.D. 1298;[1] but since the Indian immigrants introduced into Java the week of five days, which passed out of use in India itself in A.D. 600, this affords confirmation to the Javanese tradition, which dates the introduction by the Indians of

[1] W. von Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*, part 2, p. 15.

agriculture, the art of writing, and of medicine, just about this time.[1] In consequence of this immigration there sprang up in Java, Madura, and Bali, alongside of the Javanese language, the Kawi-language, a mixed language, made up of Javanese and Sanscrit. The earliest immigrants were Buddhists, and the pyramid of Boro Budor,[2] a Buddhist Dagop, or temple of remains, which was not built later than the 10th century, is a witness to the early predominance of Buddhism in the island. In their ornaments there appears a syncretic mixture of Buddhist and later-Brahmanic or Sivaist representations. Between the 10th and the 15th centuries the Siva-worship gained favour among the superior castes; by them were built the temples of the Brahmans, dating about A.D. 1292. In the year 1478, Mohammedanism was introduced. Under this threefold layer of foreign religions the Old Malay religion lay so deeply buried that no trace of it remains; and even in the Javanese collection of legends, *Kanda* and *Manek Madsha*, the native is so mixed up with the Indian that it seems impossible to distinguish the former.

B. On the introduction of Mohammedanism there was an influx of Brahmans and Buddhists from Java to Bali, and they brought with them their mixture of religions. Here, however, we find still a faint trace of the Old Malay religion. While the Indians there, as well as in Java, named the supreme god Batara Guru (from Sanscr. *awatara*, superior), a compromise between Brahma and Buddha, and subordinated to him the Trimurti, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the natives of Bali knew and named one supreme being, whom they designated by the Malay name of Sang-jang-tunggal, and subordinated Batara Guru to him.[3]

C. The Battas in Sumatra have in like manner combined a remnant of the old national religion with Brahmanism. From

[1] Stuhr, *Religionen des Orients*, p. 316.

[2] W. von Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*, p. 120 ff.

[3] Raffles, *Memoir*, p. 171. *History of Java*, ii. Append. p. 329. Stuhr, *Religionen des Orients*, p. 308.

the imported India Batara Guru they distinguish the creator of the world, whom they call Debata Hasi Asi, but say that he has betaken himself to rest, and resigned the government to his three sons, Batara Guru, Sori Pada, and Mangulu Bulang.[1] Evidently the hero of the flood, distinguishable by his three sons, and these comparable again with the Indian Trimurti, is here confounded with the creator of the world. The Battas have in fact a flood-legend,[2] which they associate with the Indian name Batara Guru, in which, however, some Malay legendary elements still appear. Since its creation the earth has rested on a serpent furnished with cow's horns; but the serpent had its head shattered, and then the earth was immersed in the sea. Thereupon Batara's daughter, Puti-arla-bulan, mounted up on a white owl from heaven, but never found the land, till Batara let fall from heaven the mountain Bakarra, around which again the rest of the earth gathered. The earth was laid again upon the serpent, and bound upon his hands and feet by Batara's son, Lajang-lajand-mandi. Then Puti-arla-bulan bore three sons and three daughters, the progenitors of the present race of men. Lajang-lajand-mandi means "diving swallow." With the Indian fish-legend of Manu (§ 207), this bird-legend of the Battas has no such similarity as could lead us to regard it as old Malayan. It is worth noticing that in spite of their high culture, which is shown by their constitution and laws, their writing and literature, the Battas had yet been so far degraded as to become cannibals, while the Melanesian race of the Kubus in Sumatra, notwithstanding their barbarous condition, regarded this with horror.[3]

D. In Celebes, too, the national religion is buried under a mass of Buddhism, Sivaism, and Mohammedanism; yet here, as in Java and Sumatra, still a remnant of the old national reli-

[1] Raffles, *Memoir*, *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 499.

[2] Stuhr, *Religionen des Orients*, p. 326 f.

[3] Mohnicke, *Banka und Palembang*, p. 200.

gion is found: the spirits of ancestors are worshipped,[1] and the Javanese language, besides a multitude of imported Sanscrit words, whereby various kinds of Indian worship of trees, woods, and mountains, and of good and evil spirits, are designated, some Malay words[2] are used to indicate guardian spirits (*demmit*, guardian spirits in human form; *dadang-awu*, guardian spirits of the chase) and evil hobgoblins (*kebo, kemalc*, buffaloes, evil spirits in the form of buffaloes; comp. *κόβαλος*; *wêwê*, giant women, who steal little children). The spirits of the departed were therefore, without doubt worshipped as guardian spirits; if, then, the Malays had this religious element in common with the tribes of the Mongolian group,[3] this favours our supposition (§ 270) that the Malays are nothing else than a branch thrown off from that stem and subjected to a peculiar course of development. Those guardian deities and spirits meet us among the Battas. Among them particular places and countries have their guardian deities, and each man has his guardian spirits (*bogu*), which protect him, and his evil spirits (*saitans*), which seek to do him harm. Both are regarded as souls of the departed:[4] it was therefore the spirits of wicked men who after death became *saitans*. The Battas have priests who prophesy to them and practise soothsaying, and over them is a high priest, who lives in Toba. The use of the word *guru* for priest, and the purely Indian title for the high priest, Sa singah maha râdsha, the lion, the great king, show the Indian origin of this hierarchical arrangement. For priest, however, besides *guru*, there is also the word *datu;* this, as well as the form of soothsaying, seems to be purely Malayan. In cases of misfortune and illness the Batta goes to the *datu*, brings him a present of

[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. p. 230. Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. Append. p. 186.

[2] W. von Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*, part 2, p. 747.

[3] Not with the Indians. In India the old worship of ancestors had already (§ 199) under Brahmanism, and then more completely under the influences of Buddhism, fallen completely into the background.

[4] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, i. p. 500.

rice and a bird, from examination of the entrails of which the *datu* declares which of the evil spirits have been offended (comp. the Cingalese, § 267). To the honour of the deceased father or grandfather a feast is given, an ox, pig, or cock is offered, and the dance is kept up until one of those present becomes possessed of the spirit of the departed, and is believed to be identified with him. This one, as the spirit of the deceased, now prays as mediator to that spirit which has been made angry, and seeks to pacify him. According to the belief of the Battas, the souls of good men go to heaven, those of the wicked into a fiery lake: still even here there is a large intermixture of Indian elements.[1]

E. The Malay religion, free of all Indian elements, but only in the present stage of deep deterioration, is found in the Philippines, especially at Lüzon, among the Tagals. With the exception of the creator of the world, who is here not only put to rest but is utterly forgotten, we find the rest of the features of the Malay national religion, hitherto appearing only in scattered fragments, all united again: the guardian spirits of mountains, plains, and seas, the spirits of the departed as guardian deities of families; but alongside of them are still other important elements of religion preserved, which among the Sunda islanders are buried and overlaid by the weight of Indian influences. The Tagals in Lüzon worship the sun, the moon, and the rainbow as their gods. For their worship they have priests and priestesses. The guardian deities of mountains, countries, seas, are represented by images, and instead of setting up these images in temples, they place them in caves, where they burn incense before them.[2] No one enters a district without presenting prayers and offerings to the guardian deity of that province. Sacred mountains, too, and rocks and trees are objects of worship. When, finally, alligators also, which

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, i. p. 502.

[2] White, *Voyage to Cochin-China*, p. 120 ff. Zuniga, *Historical Views of the Philippine Islands*, i. p. 39.

there constantly destroy many human lives, have worship rendered them, and have houses built for them along the coasts, and mammals and birds offered them in sacrifice as food, this custom is to be explained, without being regarded as a universal Malay religious practice, simply enough from the local danger; an evil, destructive spirit is supposed to be in the destructive animal. Possibly, moreover, in pre-Indian antiquity in the Sunda islands, where still the dangerousness of the Cayman is experienced, a similar cause may have led to the development of a like belief and custom.

We shall group together the traces of the old national Malay religion which we have discovered. 1. The old faith in a supreme, invisible god, who created the world,—partly held by in a feeble way, partly already practically of no account; 2. The polytheistic worship of sun, moon, and rainbow, only existing among the Tagals, elsewhere driven out by the Indian religion; 3. The worship of guardian spirits of localities, mountains, etc., and of families, of which the latter are spirits of ancestors; and 4. The fear of deadly powers of nature as operations of evil spirits, among which are reckoned perhaps the souls of deceased wicked men.

§ 272. *Culture, Religion, and Traditions of the Polynesians.*

The Polynesians exhibit in many ways traces of an earlier civilisation, which must have far exceeded their present state of culture. "They have a firmly established constitution, thoroughgoing and by no means simple,[1] religious notions and customs, in part at least a kind of spiritual government, show ingenuity in the most varied sorts of work, and are bold and skilful seamen. In many places there are still found among them fragments of a sacred language that has ceased to be understood, and the custom of calling back into use antiquated expressions in certain solemn celebrations, wit-

[1] And, indeed, feudal constitution.

nesses not merely to the extreme age of the language, but also to the attention that has been paid to the marking of changes that have occurred in the course of time. . . . Their languages are in no way derived from the corruption and modification of the Malay languages. It is much more likely that they represent a primitive form of these Malayan tongues."[1] We shall have to treat of the Polynesians as members of the Malay group, who migrated in advance of the rest and formed the head of a long procession.

We must now show what groups of islands and what period of time we should keep in view, and especially trace the downward course of the process of decay. Of the mixed Malay and Melanesian[2] race of the Pelew islanders we possess a thorough description from the pen of Dr. Semper,[3] who not altogether of his own free will was detained among them for a long while, and came to know them in a very exact way. These islanders still possess the products of arts which their forefathers practised, but which are no longer understood by them, and these relics they use as medals. They also worship the souls of their forefathers as gods or guardian deities, and regard those bracks or medals as representatives of their forefathers, and even give honour and reverence to them as gods. They have also fabricated traditions of journeys and feats which the various species of medals as gods had accomplished. They have a race, in which the priestly orders are hereditary, but it is only the shell without a kernel that remains; for they have no longer any proper forms of divine worship. Those gods, *kalids*, whom each man reverences in his own club, and of whom each man supposes himself to be in some measure inspired, as well as the belief that in particular rocks, in particular serpents, etc., *kalids* dwell, are the only vestiges of a religion which are now left to them, and the priest has nothing else to do but to practise soothsaying and magic. This condition has all the more

[1] W. von Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*, part 2, p. 3.

[2] See § 273.

[3] K. Semper, *die Palau-Inseln*, Leipzig 1873.

appearance of a state of decay when we compare in this respect the other groups of islands, on which the more important remnants of the Old Malay national religion are preserved. The inhabitants of the Society, Tonga, Sandwich, Friendly, Fiji islands, and of New Zealand, believe in one supreme divine being, an invisible creator of the world, to whom they address their prayers; called in Tongan *hotooa*, in Maori and Tah. *atna*, in Hawaiian *akua*. This god is common to all those groups of islands. On the other hand, they differ very much among themselves in reference to the inferior deities, a certain proof that the polytheism involved in the recognition of them is of a secondary growth.

A. The Tahitians regard the sun as the dwelling-place of God. From him are derived a series of inferior deities, among which are thirteen gods of the sea, and from him also men are descended. Each separate island has its own particular guardian deity. The soul after death hovers about the body for a long while, and then chooses one of the wooden images, which are erected in the neighbourhood of the burying-places, for a dwelling-place, until it reaches the sun, where it leads a joyful bright life, with abundance of bread-fruit, and all manner of dainties.[1]

B. The Tonga islanders have a tradition of a god of arts and discoveries, Tangaloa, whom they honour as their own particular creator or progenitor, confounding him also with the creator of the world. This tradition[2] is therefore peculiarly worthy of attention, because in it we have an unmistakeable reminiscence of Cain's murder of his brother.

At first nothing existed but heaven, water, and the island Bolotu, the dwelling of the gods. One day Tangaloa, the god of all arts, whose priests in Tonga are carpenters, wished to fish in the ocean, but suddenly felt a great strain upon his fishing line. Supposing that he had hooked a large fish, he hauled with his utmost strength. Then there appeared the points of rocks jutting out of the water, and by and by the Tonga islands

[1] *Basler Miss. Mag.* i. 36.

[2] By W. von Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*, part 4, p. 442 ff.

were brought above the surface. There would have been an entire mighty continent[1] brought up, only that the line broke.[2] The gods created plants and animals according to the pattern of those in Bolotu, with only this difference, that they were not immortal. The legend then continues literally as follows: "The god Tangaloa with his two sons dwell in Bolotu. They dwelt there and continued to dwell on there, and Tangaloa says to his two sons: 'Go hence with your wives and dwell together on earth in Tonga. Divide the land into two halves, and occupy the separate divisions.' So they went forth. The name of the elder was Tubo, that of the younger Waka-Akau-uli. The younger lad was very smart: he first made axes, jewelled ornaments, Papalangi-stuff,[3] and mirrors.[4] The lad Tubo was of quite another character; he was slow and lazy. He always went to walk, and slept, and envied much the works of his brother. Weary of begging things of him, the elder brother thought to kill the younger, and to conceal the wicked act that he had done. Meeting his brother, he beat him till he died. At that time their father came in great wrath from Bolotu. He asked: 'Why slewest thou thy brother? Canst not thou work as he did? Alas for thy wickedness! Make proclamation to the members of Waka-Akau-uli's family that they come hither.' They came, therefore, and Tangaloa commanded them: 'Go, launch a ship upon the sea; sail to the east towards the great land, and dwell there together. Your skin shall be white as your disposition—a good disposition. Be skilful, make axes, valuable things of all kinds, and go in ships. Nevertheless, I go to tell the wind to come from your land to Tonga.[5] The race of Tubo shall never be able to reach you with their poor ships.' Tangaloa then addressed the elder brother thus: 'Thou shalt be blackest of the black, thy spirit is mean, and thou art friendless. No good thing shalt thou have; thou shalt not go to the land of thy brother; how could you go there with your wretched ships? Thy brother only will come to Tonga to trade with you.'"

[1] These islanders had therefore the idea of a continent, and so evidently a reminiscence of such a thing.

[2] A rock on the island of Hunga is still pointed out as the one in which the fishing-hook stuck.

[3] Papalangi is in Tongan myths the name of a far-off land of wonders, where pigs have horns, houses are drawn by great birds, etc. Bolotu lies north-west of Tonga. Tonga, in fact, means East. See Humboldt, p. 421.

[4] In North American sepulchres also mirrors of mica were found, a proof that the so-called savage people did not first learn the use of mirrors from Europeans. See Humboldt, p. 453.

[5] The trade-winds blow there from east to west.

Mariner found this tradition only known to the most intelligent, and the oldest people assured him that it was a genuine native tradition. All internal and external evidences go to confirm this. No mission agency had previously existed in the Tonga islands; the idea that passing Europeans had related to the islanders the biblical history of Cain and Abel, is quite inadmissible from the difficulty of the language and the absence of written modes of expression. The discoverers of America found there already a thoroughly similar tradition among many of the American tribes.[1] Finally, the core of the history of Cain and Abel in this Tongan tradition has developed, if one may use the figure, in a sort of chemically modified way, and become blended with a specifically Tongan mythology, which would not have been the case if these islanders had received for the first from some passing traveller of the last generation the history of Cain as a foreign story. Even in such a case they might have treated their material according to Tongan taste, and introduced external decorations and modifications in this sense, but no such fundamental changes and no such omissions. The particulars of the offerings of the two sons would have been quite intelligible to them, that of the marks on Cain's brow would have commended itself to them: both points would have been retained in their memories, and certainly reproduced in their story. This they have not done; and instead of this, their tradition has its point in the deadly conflict between the bright-coloured and seafaring Malays, and the black, sluggish, and unskilled Melanesians. It is evident, therefore, that there is here a primitive reminiscence of a primitive national conflict between Malays and Melanesians (of which see more particulars in § 273), which appears here in the form of a spiritual national possession of the Malays coming down from primitive times. The recollection of a primitive conflict of races is connected with a recollection of the murder of a brother that happened shortly after the creation of man, which affords an explanation of this race antagonism.

[1] Humboldt in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.*, part 4, p. 450.

C. A trace of this tradition is also found in Tahiti. The first man is the son of a god, Taròa-t'eay-etoòmo, and of a goddess, O-te-papa, and was called O-tea, the white.[1] The parents here are evidently an apotheosis of the first human pair, and the first man as the son of this pair is identical with the Waka-Akau-uli of the Tongans. Waka-Akau-uli means literally Ship-wood-black, that is, a ship of black wood; such a one do we find in the legends of a related people, the Melanesians (§ 274), as the ship of the hero of the flood. It might therefore be assumed that the Tongan Polynesians had heard and received of old from the Melanesians their tradition of the flood, and the emerging of the earth was confounded with its first creation, and therefore the survivor of the flood was confounded with Abel, who is thus represented as a skilful seaman. In § 281 we shall return again to this question.

D. In the Sandwich island, Oahu, Kotzebue[2] found in a temple enclosure a female and a male statue, the former of which, in whose direction the other is turned, seizes upon fruit that is between them on a stalk hanging with bananas, while the latter stretches out his hand for the fruit. That this representation is founded on the story of Adam and Eve is noted by Humboldt.[3] Ellis found in Hawaii the tradition of a flood, which covered all the mountains with the exception of a small peak of Mauna Kea.[4] Thus do we find among the Polynesians, in connection with their belief in the invisible creator of the world, fragments of an evident reminiscence of the primitive tradition of the human race, distorted indeed and disturbed by the afterwards intermixed polytheism, but by no means altogether lost to view. This polytheism, however,

[1] Forster, *Observations*, p. 551. Etoomo agrees literally with Adam; *pa* in Malay is father; in Maori, mother also is expressed by *pa*; *papa* may therefore be an old word for mother. In the present Malay, Javanese, Hawaiian, and Maori, *papan*, *papa*, means bond, which does not suit as the name of that goddess.

[2] Kotzebue, *Entdeckungsreisen*, part 2, p. 115.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 449.

[4] Ellis, *Reise durch Owaii*, Hamb. 1827, p. 251.

bears the essentially Mongolian character of ancestor-worship. At other points we meet with this veneration of the departed.

E. On the Fiji islands long mounds or terraces of from thirteen to twenty feet in height are found, consisting of stone or sand, and consolidated by the aid of cement, which now serve as foundations for the houses of the chiefs. That they were originally sepulchral monuments is shown by a comparison with Tahiti. King Oberea had already in Cook's time erected a monument there, consisting of a long pyramidal hillock of 45 feet in height, 87 in breadth, and 267 in length; the sides consisted of large pieces of coral, which were carefully hewn and polished in square blocks, and placed above one another in eleven courses each two feet high.[1] These monuments or sepulchral mounds were called *morais*, and were at the same time used as places of worship, sites for temples. Each family has its own guardian deity, who is the spirit of some departed relative.

F. Everywhere in Polynesia the custom prevails of dedicating something as *taboo* to the gods, by means of which it is withdrawn from earthly use, and reserved for sacred purposes. But instead of the expression *taboo*, other terms are used in certain groups of islands, as, *e.g.*, in the Pelew islands *kalid* or *blul*, and in Australia *kubong*.

G. Everywhere, too, prevails the belief in evil spirits, who occasion illnesses and other evils, and plagues, and are propitiated by magic and offerings; among them the evil spirits who bring death are pre-eminent, and they frequent the neighbourhood of burying-places. As a whole, however, these spirits, so far as descriptions and naming of them are concerned, are different in the several groups of islands.

H. Most of the tribes, besides their other gods, worship one who is their god of war, in whose honour they slay in sacrifice prisoners taken in battle. He is perhaps identical with that evil spirit of death, or the god of death. In Tahiti

[1] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, p. 18.

the war-god is called Oro, and is there confounded with the supreme Atua, the creator of the world. The missionary Jeffer describes such a sacrifice.[1] Before a *morai* 18 feet long, 4 broad, and 5 high, on which some stone tablets with tops cleft in the shape of hands had been erected, sat the priests with their legs folded beneath them, their backs leaning to a stone, and muttering their prayers toward the *morai*. Then the war offerings were beaten on the head with clubs and stones; the high priest plucked out their eyes, and gave them to the king, who touched them with his lips, as if he would eat them; then the corpses were cast into a hole and covered with stones. In other islands, especially in New Zealand, they were consumed; and thus cannibalism grew out of the practice of human sacrifices. In Tahiti, in the last age before the arrival of the first missionaries, the frequency of those human sacrifices had become atrocious, a further proof of the regular deterioration which is naturally at once moral and religious. If one considers what a frightful number of lives is consumed by war, and by the consequent sacrifice of prisoners, and how the constitution of survivors is undermined by polygamy, lust, and uncleanness,[2] and, finally, how the physical ruin is completed by the passion for the use of rum imported from Europe and America, he will cease to wonder at the rapidity with which these populations are dying out, and will not, with the Langhannsens and Gerstäckers of our days, lay the blame of the decay of those races on the missions of evangelical Churches. In the case

[1] *Basler Miss. Mag.* i. 363.

[2] In the Pelew islands, for example, every married woman, whensoever she chooses, without any objection on the part of her husband, goes to the *bai* for a period, which is a sort of common house, in order to earn something for herself as *armungul*, by whoredom. Something analogous to this is found in all the groups of islands. What is a recognised custom is called by the Pelew islanders *tokoi*, good; what is not a recognised custom is called *mugul*, bad. Thus we have reached the vaunted standpoint where good and evil are mere products of convenience and habit. That a wife should show love to her husband before strangers is *mugul*, that she should go to the *bai* is *tokoi*. See Semper, *Palau-Inseln*, p. 66.

of the Society, Fiji, and Sandwich islands, the missions have already quite decidedly rejuvenated and given a new power and glory to their inhabitants.

Obs.—Some of the first missionaries who went to Polynesia thought that they had discovered in Tahiti a sort of doctrine of the Trinity. They heard God spoken of as *tane medua*, Father; they heard of an *oromattow tooa te tamaidi*, God in the Son; and finally, they thought that they discovered in a *taroa mannu te hoa*, the bird, the Spirit, a correspondence to the Holy Spirit, and thereupon they concluded that these tribes must have had an early acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity. But this idea rests evidently on a misunderstanding. That the creator of the world is designated the father of men, appears, if one compares the above paragraph, where the traditions are reported, quite natural. *Oro mattua toa te tamaidi* does not mean God in the Son, but is the name of Oro, the god of war, Oro the father and his son, where a son of the war-god is spoken of in a thoroughly polytheistic sense. And *taroa mannu* is the bird spirit which designates one of the guardian deities, who is represented in the form of a bird.

D.—The Cushite Races of Asia and Polynesia.

§ 273. *The Remnants of Cushite Peoples in Asia and Polynesia.*

We have in § 247, *D*, stated the fact admitted by all the most recent investigators, that the family of the Cushites (Χουσαῖοι, Αἰθίοπες) had in ancient times spread not only over Abyssinia, but also over the whole south of Asia, even to India.

1. No one entertains the least doubt that the dark-skinned races of Further India are remnants of these Cushites, and so we find Megasthenes in antiquity, and Jones and Prichard in modern times, calling attention to the physical resemblance between these tribes and the Abyssinians. To these tribes, which, according to Hunter, number sixty millions, belong the Doms in the Himalayas, the dark tribes of Nepaul, and, above all, that of the Horos, or so-called Kolhs in the

mountains of Napura, south-west of Calcutta. In reference to the customs and religion of these Kolhs, we have in quite recent times obtained trustworthy information. There is now an *à priori* probability that only a portion of that earliest population of India would have escaped into the mountains from the hordes of invading Malays, and from the Mongols who followed, and from the Aryan Indians. Another portion would undoubtedly seek safety in the islands,[1] and perhaps even before this some of them had voluntarily betaken themselves thither.

2. This is confirmed by the fact that on the Sunda islands, as well as in Australia and some parts of Polynesia, we find, alongside of the Malay tribes, races of a dark colour and Hamitic structure of body, the so-called Melanesians, whose languages have not the slightest connection with those of the Malays.[2] To these belong,—

A. The Negritos or Austral-Negros on the Philippine and Marianne islands, where they have been driven by the Malays into the interior and into the mountains. They have a black skin, partly also crisp, almost woolly hair, but are distinguished from the negroes of Africa by the structure of the skull, and indeed their general conformation is quite different.

B. The Alfurus, or Horofurus,[3] or Turadshas in Borneo, Celebes, Mindanao, and some neighbouring islands, the Kubus in Sumatra, and the Semang in Malacca, which have been all driven away back by the Malays into the most remote mountains. They are distinguished from the Negritos by a lighter skin, sometimes passing into light brown, sometimes, especially among the wilder tribes, approaching perfect black. In the

[1] The black cannibal inhabitants of the Andamans, who go about quite naked, belong to these Cushites.

[2] Klaproth in *nouv. journal Asiatique*, xii. 240. W. von Humboldt in *Abdl. d. Berl. Akad.*, part 2, p. iv. ff. The grammar of the Melanesian languages has been wrought up by Gabelentz.

[3] Among the Horos or Kolhs in India *horo* means man; another word, *alala*, has the same meaning. These two words came to form the roots of the names Horofuru and Alfuru.

Pelew islands they have become amalgamated with the Malays and become a mixed race.

C. The Papuans, who form the populations of the islands of New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, some of the New Hebrides (Aneityum, Tanna, Mallicollo), the Solomon islands, and New Caledonia; and the Alfurus of the islands of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land.

D. Finally, in the inland districts of Madagascar we find the Negrito tribe of the Verzimbers.

According to Latham's account,[1] the languages of these Melanesian tribes are closely related to one another; and, indeed, the languages of the Papuans in New Guinea, New Ireland, the Solomon islands, and the New Hebrides, are quite the same. From this, notwithstanding the varieties in colour, which may be explained partly from climate, for as you approach the equator the shade becomes darker, and partly from mixture with Malay blood, it may be at once concluded that they are descended from one main stem. Since, then, the Papuans on the north coast of New Guinea, in New Britain, New Ireland, New Caledonia, and Van Diemen's Land, with crisp hair have yet a lighter colour than the Alfurus on the south coast of New Guinea and in New Holland,[2] the conclusion is reasonable that (*a*) the Negritos of the Philippine and Marianne islands, the Alfurus of Borneo, Celebes, Mindanao, and the Alfurus of New Holland and of the south of New Guinea, had taken possession of those islands and peopled them in primitive times before the immigration of the Malays into India; and that (*b*) the Papuans in the north of New Guinea, in New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomon islands, and some of the New Hebrides, had first come to these islands along with the Malays, as subject to them, and then continued to intermarry with them. In favour of this latter statement we may adduce the fact that the Papuans

[1] In *Ausland*, 1843, März (March).

[2] Lesson, "Mémoire sur les Papouas," in the *Annales des Soc. Nat.* vol. x. 1827, p. 93.

of the New Hebrides in stature and customs show some resemblance to the Malays,[1] and even some Malay words have found their way into their language, among which are these four numerals:—one, *tsikai*, Mal. *sa*, Haw. *kahi;* two, *eru*, Tah. *rua;* four, *ebats*, Mal. *ampat;* five, *erim*, Tah. *rima*. In behalf of the former statement—namely, that even before the arrival of the Malays a free Cushite population inhabited New Holland, the Philippines, etc.—we may adduce the Javanese tradition,[2] Kanda and Manek madsha, that the original population of Java came in ships from the Red Sea, that is, from Arabia; that some worshipped the sun, some the moon, and some fire, but that all were worshippers of the stars, and that they were roving in wild hordes without laws. During the historical period no Alfurus or Negritos have been found in Java; but this tradition clearly shows that originally they were there, as in the present day they are in Celebes and Borneo. In Java they had been completely driven away or rooted out by the immigrant Malays.

Here, too, the legend of Tonga about the white and the black son, which we have related in § 272, *B*, has its full significance. If the reminiscence of the good son and his wicked brother who slew him had already among the Malay inhabitants of Tonga in early times taken the form of representation of the white or light-coloured and black brother, it may be concluded, as was done by W. von Humboldt,[3] that there had been an ancient conflict between the light-coloured Malay races and a hostile black race. And if, now, in that tradition those belonging to the white brother go from Tonga to an eastern island, and the black people remain in Tonga, it would seem that we might conclude from this that, at the time of the immigration of the Malays, the Alfurus at first, at the time when the tradition took this form and assumed its established character, kept possession of Tonga, and that only at a later period did the Malays, returning from the

[1] Forster, *Bemerkungen*, etc., pp. 238 and 482 ff.
[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 65. [3] *Ibid.* 450.

eastern islands, succeed in conquering Tonga. It is worth noticing that even in this tradition the greater skill in seafaring craft of the Malays (§ 270) in comparison with the Cushites is emphasized.

§ 274. *Civilisation and Religion of the Kolhs and their Traditions.*

Of the sixty million Cushites who live in Further India, by far the greater part became Hinduized—that is, the constitution, customs, and Sivaite worship of the Hindus were imposed upon and adopted by them. Only the Kolhs, though even among them the Hinduizing process was already beginning, had, when the Protestant missionaries began to work among them, still in great measure retained their national character and their religion. My friend, the missionary Jellinghaus, who for many years lived among them, has written a very thorough account of their nationality and religion in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnographie.*

Besides the Munda-Kolhs, numbering about a million, and the Larka-Kolhs, closely related to them, there are usually counted among the Kolhs in the wider sense, the Urauhs, that is, leaf-people, in the south of Tshaibassa, actually connected with the Munda-Kolhs, though speaking a Tamul dialect; and farther north the Santals, speaking a Kolh dialect; and finally, also, though with some uncertainty, the Kerias, speaking quite a different language. These peoples have dark, black-coloured skins, not generally, however, like the negroes, but with a good facial angle, prominent noses, large but well-formed mouths, reminding one, just as the Abyssinians do, of the Aryan type. They are of a fine, powerful development; and the Mundas, before they had been thoroughly spoiled and corrupted by mixture with the cowardly Hindus, were characterized by child-like open-heartedness, fidelity, and bravery, although they certainly are not distinguished for truthfulness. The Hindus have given them the

name of Kolhs; they call themselves simply *horos*, that is, men.[1] The position of the various Kolh tribes in respect of culture is very varied. The leaf-people are purely savage. They go naked, and their women wear absolutely no clothing or covering of any kind; only before Europeans do they think it necessary to put on a small bunch of leaves. The Munda-Kolhs, to whom this account specially applies, engage in agriculture; the farms are not private property, but belong to the community, that is, to the whole company of the male inhabitants of the villages; each holds his own plot for his lifetime, and after his death it reverts to the community. Till they reach maturity they go naked; then youths and men wear a small girdle, maidens and wives a strip of cloth, and in the cooler seasons both sexes wrap themselves up with a large cloak. As among all peoples accustomed to go naked, the practice, as such, does not provoke to sensuality. Marriage, when once concluded, is faithfully and purely observed; the adulterer is thoroughly flogged, the adulteress is either surrendered to the blows of her own lawful husband, or sent away to her seducer. Thus adultery is rare. The Laskas punish it with death. Monogamy prevails as a rule; two wives are allowed, but the practice is not common. Before marriage, however, there is free intercourse of the sexes practised in open day, and their lax conscience regard it as sport: rarely is a young woman married as a virgin. Parents who take the matter seriously have their daughters married or betrothed before they reach maturity. Desertion of wives and divorce are not infrequent, and concubines, along with legally married wives, are permitted.

In respect of religion they have retained the early primitive monotheism, the belief in an invisible, personal creator of the world, and to him they present offerings; they

[1] Besides this word for man, which they indicate by the simple word *horo*, the Hindus by *kero-horo*, and the Moslems by *turko-horo*, they have also a second word for man, *alala;* and, especially in their older traditions, also a third, *manoa*. About this see more farther on.

also have proverbs, in which a personal trust in him and a surrender of themselves to him are expressed. But in general he is regarded as far off, and is practically ignored, while they are powerfully possessed and dominated by the fear of evil spirits. The name of that creator is Sing-bonga;[1] *sing* means sun, *sengel*, fire, and *bonga* means spirit. Sing-bonga is therefore literally spirit of the sun. We should not, however, conclude that we have here a sun-god or a sun-worship. No trace, indeed, has been discovered among the Kolhs of any worship or reverencing of the sun, and greeting of its rising and setting, or even any form of fire-worship. In the composite word *sing-bonga*, *sing* is evidently a qualitative attribute, and so has the position of an adjective: sun-spirit means a bright, beaming spirit. It is thus quite similar to the Aryan *dêva*, from *div*, to beam forth, and the Munda-Kolhs quite expressly say that Sing-bonga created the sun, and the earth, and the whole world.[2] Among the most commonly used proverbial expressions are the following: Great in heaven is Sing-bonga: he has created heaven and earth; none is greater than he. As we kindle a light in the house, so has Sing-bonga set the sun in the heavens to lighten the whole world: had he not done so, how should the *nida-attingtanko*, night-eaters, that is, wild animals, and the day-eaters, that is, men, do with one another? And that the reminiscence of Sing-bonga involves an ethical element, is shown by the following sayings: If a wife suspects her husband of infidelity, she says to him, Sing-bonga has appointed thee for me, and thou goest to another. One ought to say, in comforting one who has been robbed, Sing-bonga is the giver, be not low-spirited; Sing-bonga sees it, Sing-bonga will award punishment. How many days will the thief enjoy it? They encourage to

[1] The Uraons call him Dharme. See Notrott, *die Gossner'sche Mission unter den Kolhs*, 1874, p. 57. Dharme is the Sanscr. *dharmin*, the righteous, or the speaker of right, the judge.

[2] On the other hand, the Larka-Kolhs identify Sing-bonga with the sun itself, regard the moon as his wife, and the stars as his children. Among them monotheism is passing over into polytheism.

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sincerity in these words, By our concealing it is not concealed; Sing-bonga will show it openly. On the death of a child they say, What can I do? Sing-bonga has done it, Sing-bonga has taken it; I am powerless; I cannot give my own life instead of his. The poor man comforts himself thus: I am hungry, but he who feeds the ants and the birds will also give to me; why should he not give to me? The good, that is, the degree of conscientiousness that is met with in the national character of the Kolhs, is to be accounted for by the fact that they have not yet altogether forgotten that personal God; but although sin, too, has a mighty hold of them, they feel themselves separated from this god, and think of him as far removed from them, and then cast upon him the guilt of the evil that is on the earth, as though he no longer troubled himself about the earth. Thus say they when any great wrong or violence is done: Sing-bonga is almighty in heaven, but he is removed too far away. Hence they feel themselves not only given over to the dominion of human wrong, but also by reason of it surrendered by an accusing conscience to a foreign power of darkness, which, however, they do not recognise as a power of sin, but only as a power of evil, and seek for as something magical operating outside of themselves. Apart from Sing-bonga, who is a good *bonga*, there is a multitude of evil *bongas* which haunt nature: *burnbonga*, mountain spirits; *ikirbonga*, spirit of the shady depths; *daa-bonga*, water-spirits; and at the head of these wicked, ill-producing spirits stands a *marang-bonga*, which haunts Marang-burn, one of the highest mountains of the land.[1]

Sacrificial worship is rendered partly to Sing-bonga, partly to the evil *bongas*. Each village has besides its secular chief, the *munda*, its priest, *pahan*, as a rule a hereditary rank, and its *sarna*, sacrificial court, of the trees of which no twig may be broken, and which must not be entered by any

[1] By the Larkas he is called Desauli, has a wife Chahirburhi, a son Malura, and he again has a wife Chondorburhi. Among the Santals, Zarnabonga and Dhahkrburhi are the chief of the evil spirits.

woman. These sacred enclosures contain no idol images, and, indeed, the Kolhs generally have no images. A sacrificial stone is found in every *sarna*, and on it the *pahan* offers to Sing-bonga white cocks and white goats in order to conciliate him, but to evil spirits black or coloured cocks and goats. The chief sacrificial festival is in *baa-tschandu*, the flower month, March, the *tschait* of the Hindus; but *tschandu*, month, comes not from *tschait*, but is connected with the Sanscrit *tschandra*, moon. After the offerings are brought, the *pahan* is carried on the shoulders round the village, all houses are decked with flowers, and a banquet, with rice brandy and dancing, follows.[1] On sickness, death, miscarriage, etc., they take their complaint against the evil *bonga*, not to the *pahan*, but to a sorcerer (*soko*, *deonra*), who, amid varied ceremonies and calling on Mahadeo or Siva, falls into convulsions, and in this condition pretends to see and name the woman who as a witch has occasioned the evil. Only after three soothsayers have denounced the same woman is she put to death. If the sorcerer sees no woman but only animals, then animals of the same sort must be offered. That the belief in evil *bongas* has been independently developed among the Kolhs on the ground of their own religion I would not in any way question, but those appeals to Mahadeos show that this witchcraft was the weak point where first the Siva-worship obtained an influence. The belief of the Kolhs, that men with the help of evil spirits can be changed for a long while into tigers in order to eat men, is worthy of being noticed. They call them *kula-horo*, tiger-men. It is essentially the same belief which we have found as a belief in the were-wolf among the Germans and among the Ugro-Tartars, and which we shall yet meet with in the most varied parts of America, and which we meet with here in a

[1] This flower festival is certainly not genuinely Cushite, but, like the name of the flower month, has been obtained from the Hindus. The Larkas celebrate five festivals yearly to the evil bonga Desauli (Notrott, p. 77).

Hamite race. Such a belief, which is common to the most diverse families of the human race, those farthest separated in space and origin, must, since it cannot be explained from any physical cause,[1] find its explanation in some occurrence which has taken place in the primitive history of the still undivided family of mankind. Neither in Siberia, nor in India, nor in Germany, nor in North or South America, could a man for a length of time change himself into a wolf, or tiger, or any other animal. Should the case of a beast coming into such connection with a man have occurred in primitive history, it would become apparent from this that in it there was a nature higher than that of a beast, which gave itself a form, and that of a destructive kind.

This brings us to the legends of the Kolhs. One may venture the remark almost without reservation, that just as in the case of the reminiscences of one god, the primitive traditions of the human race have remained undisturbed. The Kolhs exhort one another to diligence by the saying: In the beginning Sing-bonga said to us, wiping the sweat from thy brow, labouring, ploughing, chopping, wilt thou have food. Another saying runs: Men from the beginning have had to submit to hard labour, women to birth-pains. Something more of a legendary tale is the following reminiscence of a lost paradise: Sing-bonga created the human body in the moulded form of a child: then came a horse and wished to overthrow the moulded form. Then Sing-bonga made a dog, which chased the horse; and now God gave life to man (Gen. ii. 7), and created also for the youth a maiden (Gen. ii. 22). Then God called all creatures to himself (Gen. ii. 19), but they all tarried late; only the tiger came, and so he was made mighty beyond other creatures. Much less disfigured is the legend of the flood: Men became wicked, then refused to

[1] Fr. von Erdmann's attempted explanation quite misses the mark; that the sun, regarded as beneficent, is represented by an ox, and as burning up it is represented by a wolf. This might account for the change of an ox, but not of a man, into a wolf.

wash themselves and would no longer work, but only dance and engage in revelries; then came a *sengel-daa*, a flood of fire, which, according to the explanation of the Kolhs, means simply a *marang-daa*, a great, overwhelming flood; while another version of the legend says that by this flood the wood of the ship had been burnt black. In this flood all men were swallowed up.[1] Only a brother and a sister laid themselves in the stem of a Tiril tree, a kind of tree with black wood, and so were saved; and from them all men are sprung. But Sing-bonga did not wish that men should again suffer from a flood. Therefore he created a *lur-bing*, a lur serpent, *lur* being the name of a particular kind of serpent, in order that it should hinder violent excess of rain. When it threatens to rain violently, this *lur-bing* breathes his soul toward heaven, and his breath is there spread out again as a rainbow and brings the rain to an end. So long as the soul of the *lur-bing* as a rainbow remains in the heavens, the *lur-bing* is dead. Hence on the appearing of a rainbow the Kolhs are wont to say: *lurbing kuted akanna*, *lurbing* has become a bow; they also commonly call the rainbow *lurbing*. The Urauhs also have a legend of the flood, in which only a brother and a sister save themselves in the hollow or shell of a large crab. The Munda-Kolhs, in their legend of the flood, use to express man not the word *horo*, but constantly the word *manoa*. As this word has become antiquated, and is only found in their old tradition of the flood, which is clearly different from that of the Aryan Indians,[2] it cannot

[1] It is probable that a portion of the Kolhs preserved the ancient meaning of *sengel-daa* as equivalent to *marang-daa;* but another portion understood *sengel-daa* literally, and so developed the idea of burning the ship black. That the original intention of the tradition was to represent a flood of water and not a flood of fire, will, we think, appear for the fact that men are said not to have been burned, but swallowed up or drowned, and that a ship is naturally connected with a flood, and especially that the legend itself explains the blackness of the ship from the nature of the Tiril tree, which does not need to be burnt in order to be black.

[2] The Indian legends of the flood (§ 207) speak only of one man as having been saved, not of a pair, and have a reminiscence of the rainbow

have been borrowed from the Sanscrit, but must be a genuine primitive word of the old language of the Kolhs. This is not to be wondered at, for we have this root, *man*, *manu*, for man among the most diverse races and families of mankind, even in the Menes of the Egyptians. The Malays, too, have this root at least as a verbal stem, *manatu*, to think, although for man they have the word *tangata*, furnished with hands.

Souls after death go into "that land." Of the dead they say: The body is still, the soul (*roa*) continues to move on. They bewail the death of a father (*abba*) and a mother (*umma*) with the cry: O father, O mother, whither hast thou gone away from us? Traces are found of the worship of ancestors, called *haram horoko*, old men, *burrhi horoko*, old women, to whom they present offerings of rice, whose names they enumerate back to the fifth degree. In particular cases, too, they invoke them for protection. This ancestor-worship appears only in sporadic forms,[1] and it is quite supposable that this is an element of religion imported from the Mongols (§ 267) or from the Malays (§ 276). At the same time, the reverse mode of viewing it is frequent, and may be accounted for by their inclination to witchcraft, the idea, that is to say, that the souls of the departed pass into evil *bongas*, or actually become, especially in the case of suicides and those who meet a violent death, *muas*, hobgoblins. They expect an end of the world, when seven suns instead of one shall rise, and melt and burn up everything. They speak also of a *nork*, hell, lying in the south, which *nida singil sengel jultanna*, burns with fire day and night. There the wicked suffer punishment, while the good go with Sing-bonga into heaven. This belief,

that grew up, according to the Indians themselves, at so late a date as B.C. 1000. The legends of the Kolhs, on the other hand, know nothing of a fish-god, who proclaimed the flood, and drags Manu's ship over the waves.

[1] It is the usual custom to burn the dead, and to lay stone plates over the urns. To eminent men are also erected, in or around the villages, *misans*, that is, memorial stones, two to four feet broad, and five to fifteen feet long.

however, has little influence upon their walk and conversation beyond this, that they will never sleep with their heads toward the south. Their conscience, indeed, is not altogether asleep. There are many parents among them who will not suffer their children to sing impure songs or take part in dances;[1] and the hearty reception which the missionaries had from the Kolhs may be explained from this fact, that conscience in them was not quite dead. The religion of the Kolhs undoubtedly is pagan; it is, however, the twilight and not the black night of heathenism.

Obs. 1.—If in the old national religion of the Cushites the belief in the invisible living god has had so powerful an influence and has prevailed so long, this just confirms what was said in § 247 about the Cushite empire of Nimrod, and its god-fearing character. In like manner the presence of Semitic words in the language of the Kolhs, such as *abba*, father, *umma*, mother, *roa*, soul, רוח, serves to confirm the position laid down in § 247, that the Cushites originally dwelt together with the Semites on the banks of the Euphrates.

Obs. 2.—The Assyrian tradition of the Kolhs is extremely important and worthy of attention; in the first place, as containing a reminiscence of a conflict in arms between the Cushites and the ungodly Assyrians (comp. § 247), and in the second place as expressing the consciousness that the worship of the evil *bongas* and the fear of them is a secondary and more recent element in their religion than the belief in Sing-bonga. Twelve brothers of the Assyrians, thirteen brothers of the gods, melted iron, also ate iron, and defiantly declared themselves *bongas* of the mountains and the dells, and said: We are Sing-bonga, of whom should we be afraid? Then anguish came upon men; fearful heat arose, so that even the golden throne of Sing-bonga began to melt. Then he sent word by two birds to the men of Assyria that they should smelt their iron either by day or by night; but they ill-treated the birds, and sent them back to Sing-bonga. Two other birds which he sent, a lark and a raven, brought the message that the Assyrians would them-

[1] From this it may be concluded that the moral decay described above must have been first introduced in comparatively recent times along with Hinduism, and cannot be reckoned against the old national morality. In fact, from 1585 to 1680, the Kolhs were tributary to the Turkish Musselmen; and thereafter they came under the influence of the Hindu Zemindars.

selves be the great *deota*, deity, and would drive out and overthrow Sing-bonga. With no better result he sent two eagles. Then Sing-bonga determined himself to visit the earth. [Here we find a blending of the Indian mythological element of the incarnations of Krishna.] He comes in human form, finds a young servant of a man Lutkum afflicted with leprosy out in a rice field, and heals him. He had first slain him, drawn the leprous skin off the dead body, and then made him alive again with a sound healthy skin. Sing-bonga's own son clothes himself in the leprous skin, comes to the earth, seeks work among the Assyrians as a swineherd, but is thrust away as a loathsome being. Thereupon he works many miracles; playing ball with Assyrian boys, he breaks in pieces their iron balls with eggs, etc. There are similar Hindu myths of Krishna. He prevents any more iron from coming out of the Assyrian furnaces. When no sorcerer is able to help them, they turn to the young leper (*kasra-kora*) for counsel. He demands first an animal, then a human sacrifice. They wish to offer up one of their own sons [Moloch-worship]; he forbids them, and says: Offer me, I have neither father nor mother. Then at his command a smelting furnace was built by two virgins, and heated to its highest degree. [Here is a reminiscence of the Moloch-worship of the Semites of the Euphrates.] He goes into it, but comes out again unburnt, beaming and covered with ornaments of gold. The Assyrians ask where he got the gold. He says, in the furnace there is yet much gold; they should go in, and let their wives for a week blow the bellows, and keep up the heat. They went in; their cries of agony are heard, they are burnt to a cinder; Kasra-kora turned their wives into *bongas*, and then arose the *bongas* of the hills and dells and streams; then he himself went back to heaven. And now Sing-bonga sent a messenger to men, *horo*, that is, the Kolhs, the Cushites, who taught them the art of working in iron. It is quite clear, *à priori*, that the Assyrians of the Kolhs have nothing at all in common with the Sivaite-Buddhist Assurs, comical spirits of the air, and are not derived from them. Another tradition, however, presents traces of an Indian origin. The Mundas and Uraons were in olden times united under one king, from whom the present princes of Tshutia-Nagpore, the land of the Kolhs, are descended. A serpent longing after wisdom should, in order to learn wisdom, be changed into a man, sought the most celebrated schools, and married the daughter of a man. When she was inquiring closely into the pedigree of her husband, he changed himself back into a serpent and cast himself into a lake. She thereupon brought forth that king, but died in giving him birth. The kings of Tshutia-Nagpore call themselves *nagbansi*, sons of the serpent; a hybrid word from the

Sanscr. *nâga*, a serpent, and the Kolh word *bao*, בן. This legend reminds us of the Japanese myth of the step-daughter of Amatsu-fiko, who changed herself into a sea-serpent, § 269. That this Japanese legend is of Buddhist, and certainly of Indian origin, we have already shown. Ruins of an ancient royal castle, and numerous temple-like buildings in the city of Tshutia (Notrott, p. 89), prove that even in regard to culture among the Kolhs there must have been a decay and deterioration.

Obs. 3.—The language of the Kolhs, broken up into various dialects, is rich in vocabulary,—from the letter A to L already no less than 7800 words have been collected. Besides Semitic words, there are many that seem identical with Japhetic or Indo-Germanic roots, which cannot be supposed to have been simply borrowed. *Hom*, man, Lat. *homo; had*, Germ. heiss, is, is called; *numu*, name; *nidi*, night; *nama*, new; *ar*, plough; *darum*, sleep, Sanscr. *drui*, Lat. *dormire; kiwa*, Germ. kinn, chin; *ruku*, Germ. rücken, ridge; *lenga*, links, left; *ruru*, ruhe, rest; *te*, tag, Lat. *dies*, day; *kumbru*, Sanscr. *kumbrila*, thief; *sukri*, Sanscr. *sukara*, sow; *danta*, zahn; *dens*, tooth; *loge*, lügen, to lie, etc. For father, besides the Semitic *abba*, *apu*, they have the Malay or generally Japhetic *baba;* for mother, besides the Semitic *umma* (Babyl. *ummu*), they have the words *enga* and *ago*, which again more resemble the Malay; for brother they have *anako hago* (comp. Mal. *naka*, son) and *bao*, plur. *bansi;* comp. בן; for sister they have *misi* and *ankoi* (comp. אחות אח, Arab. *achatun*) and *dai;* for water they have *da* (Mal. *danau tója*) and *am* (מים); for fire, *sengel* (Old High Germ. *sangjan*, sengen); for house, *ora* (Mal. and Polyn. *ware*) and *vipa;* for man, *horo*, *ho*, *alala* (Bugish, *oroane*); for son, *hon* (Zend *humu*, υἱός, Goth. *sunus*). The numerals from one to ten: *miad*, *baria*, *adia* (*pea*, *mund*), *upunia* (*nach*), *monea*, *turia*, *aja* (*ea*), *iralia*, *area*, *gelea*, are quite independent and peculiar; only the Urauhs use from five to ten the Hindu numerals. The structure of the language is agglutinate. The personal pronouns are: *aing*, *ing*, I; *am*, thou; *ini*, *ni*, he; *ab*, we (inclus.); *ale*, we (exclus.); *ă*, we two (inches); *ă*, we two (excl.); *ape*, you; *aben*, you two; *enko*, they.

§ 275. *The Religion of the Papuans, Negritos, and Alfuurus.*

The knowledge which we possess of the old Cushite religion among the Kolhs is all the more important as it affords us a standpoint from which to estimate the greatness of the dete-

rioration to be seen in their brethren closely related in regard of race, but widely scattered, in Australia and on the Sunda islands. The terrible fraction and shattering of languages, which gives an entirely different dialect, not only as distinguishing one islet from another, but even one village from another, is a proof of this deterioration.[1] Among the Melanesians of the New Hebrides we meet with cannibalism and fearful cruelty. The petty chief Buba at Nengone caused any one who had wronged him in the least, even several of his fifty-five wives, to be slain, and then he ate the limbs of the corpse.[2] Nevertheless some remnants of earlier culture are still extant. On the island of Gera, Patteson saw a chief's "ship" of fifty feet long inlaid with mother-of-pearl.[3] As regards the religion of these peoples, we have seen in § 273 that, according to the thoroughly credible Javanese tradition there reported, polytheism had been already developed there among them before the Malays invaded the Sunda islands, and had indeed assumed a thoroughly national form, for some worshipped the sun, some the moon, and others fire; and hand and hand therewith savagery and lawlessness were introduced. It might seem worthy of notice that, according to that Javanese tradition, the Alfurus who were then met with on Java were star-worshippers, while there is not the least trace of any knowledge of the stars among the Kolhs. Astrology cannot have been a national characteristic of the Cushites. This Javanese legend, however, may be quite unconstrainedly explained, if, according to its own statement, those Cushites found in Java belonged, not to a Cushite race from India, but to one from the Red Sea, that is, from the south of Arabia, which had there learnt the knowledge of the stars from the Semitic Arabians.

Of that long period that intervened between the Malay immigration in B.C. 1600 and the modern discovery of Australia

[1] Wilh. Baur, *John Coleridge Patteson, der Missionsbischof von Melanesien*, Gütersloh 1877, p. 51.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 84.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 86.

by Magelhæns and Cook, we would have had no information at all but for some inscriptions discovered on stone tablets. On the Fiji islands, alongside of the Malay Polynesians, there is a mixed race made up from them and Negritos, who still in recent times worship stone pillars as divinities; and now on one of the Marianne islands, where, as we have said, the Negrito tribes are found, two parallel rows of such pillars have been discovered. But even on Easter island, which on its discovery was found uninhabited, there were similar pillars, of which one was twenty-seven feet high.[1] These stone pillars are ascribed to an Alfuru, therefore a Cushite population, and not to the Malays, for among the Malays no trace of the worship of stones is found. Its origin among the Alfurus is easily explained. It is not necessary to assume that there had been a south Arab tribe which had adopted this worship of stones from Semitic Arabs (§ 254, *Obs.*), for such could scarcely have been there at so early a period; but it is enough to remember the evil *bongas* of the Kolhs, haunting mountains and rocks, and their *nisans* erected to deceased worthies, and finally, their belief that the souls of the deceased became evil *bongas*. From similar grounds similar elements might be developed among the Alfurus, all the more readily because the idea of a creator of the world had been by them completely forgotten. So soon, however, as those three elements were combined, the *nisans* must have become in their minds stones and idols in which *bongas* were present.[2] The religious condition of the Alfurus of the present time thoroughly agrees with this. For the *taboo* of the Polynesians (§ 272) they have the word *kubong*, an original primitive Hamitic word (§ 278), which among the Adshi negroes of to-day designates the invisible creator of the world, and had also been among the Alfurus of the primitive age an appellative of deity, but has now been reduced to signify anything that is placed under

[1] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, p. 18.

[2] That also among the negro races in Africa worship of stones is found, see § 278.

the *taboo*. Of a belief in the one invisible creator of the world there is scarcely any longer the least vestige. Even the polytheistic star-worship has been shrivelled up into a gloomy dread of the powers of nature and natural phenomena, taking different shapes in the various islands, assuming usually the form of fear of thunder and meteoric showers. On the other hand, the dread of spirits of the deceased and the appearance of their ghosts has been developed in its fullest dimensions.[1] Only among the Melanesians of the New Hebrides, especially among those of the island of Aneityum,[2] the missionary Geddie found still significant remnants of the ancient religion. They knew about a supreme god, Nangerain, among some other Melanesian tribes called Nengei, who created the island, raising it out of the sea, whose name, however, could only be uttered by the chiefs and priests. A multitude of rude and grotesque spirits, haunting the air, sea, and land, called *natmasi*, were regarded as sons and descendants of Nangerain. Sun and moon, and the souls of departed chiefs, were special objects of worship, and to the latter offerings of animals and food were given. But, finally, they have also a vast number of sorcerers, who pretend to be able to produce thunderstorms, vermin, sicknesses, and must be conciliated by presents. The legend of these Melanesians of Aneityum, that their forefathers were originally immortal, and then on account of an offence were made subject to death, is specially deserving of notice.

Patteson[3] tells of the Melanesians of the islands of Bauro and Gera, that they worship the deity in the form of a serpent. On the island of Mota the supreme god is called Ikpat, who has many brothers, and among them a hostile one, an accuser, — a reminiscence of the angels and Satan as the fallen angel. In regard to the souls of the dead the belief prevails among those Melanesians that they continue to live, that they gather

[1] Zimmermann, *Australien*, part 1, p. 344 ff.
[2] See *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1876, May, p. 180 ff.
[3] Wilh. Baur, *Patteson*, p. 79 f.

together by night, and do mischief to those who then meet them. The natives of Mota think that white people are the spirits of dear friends come back again.[1]

The Papuans are in some respects more closely connected in regard to religion with the Malays; in other respects that utter stupidity in religious matters bordering upon imbecility shows itself in them, as in various others of the Alfuru race, which we have already observed (§ 272) in the mixed population of the Pelew islands; and so Moritz Wagner is quite right when he, in proof of the statement that there are men with no religion, refers to these South Sea islanders, and on the other hand to individuals such as D. Fr. Strauss, Vogt, etc. The only question is, whether D. Fr. Strauss, along with his like-minded companions, have raised themselves to the standpoint of those half-idiotic Alfurus, or whether these have degraded themselves to the standpoint of our modern savants.

Chapter III.—The Savage Races of Africa.

§ 276. *Ethnographical Survey.*

When in the First Division, in treating of the civilised races of Africa, we spoke of the Egyptians, together with the Libyans and the Cushites, Ethiopians or Abyssinians, we left over three families of the African race: 1. The Kaffirs and tribes of the Kaffir order, which are characterized by the use of languages belonging to a common stock, the Bantu languages; 2. The Hottentots at the southern point; and 3. The vast multitude of negro tribes.

The Kaffirs in the stricter sense occupy the district lying between 25° and 33° south latitude, and are distinguished from the negroes by the lead-coloured, greyish-black skin but still more by the shape of the skull and countenance (arched nose and prominent cheek-bones, a very fine develop-

[1] W. Baur, *Patteson*, p. 141.

ment of skull, and strong but not protruding lips), with woolly hair. Their bodily structure reminds one of the Abyssinians, so that Lichtenstein[1] has quite correctly suggested their descent from the Old Ethiopians, and so classed them with Cushites. They call themselves Amatembus, Amapondas, Amakosahs;[2] and in this last designation we readily recognise the root *cush*. Closely related to them in appearance and in language (see *Obs.*) are the Betchuanas, to the west of the Transvaal, together with the Sutos, to the south-east of the Orange State, and the Bushmen, to the north-west of the Kaffirs and north of the Hottentots, the Damaras, north-west of the Betchuanas and north of the Bushmen, on the west coast, and the tribes dwelling around the Congo and in Loango, on the west coast, up to the equator. The tribes of the east coast in Mozambique and Zanzibar and the Suaheli also show a striking resemblance in bodily form and language to the Kaffirs.[3] The Betchuanas have a tradition that their forefathers came from a land where the sun appeared to them when they looked to the west, not over the right, but over the left shoulder, that is, from the northern hemisphere.[4] Whether, then, these tribes have spread out from Ethiopia southwards, or were wholly or partly Indian Cushites who had been driven from India by the Malay immigration, finding their way across Madagascar into South Africa, it is quite certain that they pressed out the Cushite population, or more probably got mixed up with the descendants of Cush and Phut. Of the

[1] Lichtenstein, *Reise in Südafrika*, part 1, p. 402. Comp. in *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1861, April, the portrait of the Suto chief Moshesh.

[2] Kaffir comes from the Arabic *kaferuna*, unbelievers, and is applied by the Arabs as a nickname to all who are not Mussulmans, and especially to their black neighbours.

[3] Lichtenstein, *Reise in Südafrika*, p. 393. Marsden, *Narrative of a Voyage to the River Zaire*, London 1818, app. nro. l. Prichard.

[4] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in South Africa*. E. von Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, part 2, p. 126. They possess also ancient animal fables, of which one is as like the Low German tale "Vom Swinegel und siner Fru" as one egg is like another (Weber, ii. 129), and seems to indicate a primitive stock of possessions common to races of men utterly unconnected.

name of Phut we have a reminiscence in the Bantu and Bunda languages. It is interesting to discover the word *horo*, man, which we found (§ 274) in the speech of the Asiatic Cushite tribe of the Kolhs, in use on the west coast of Africa among the Akra negroes in the duplicate form of *horo* and *holo*. The Somalis, too, on the east corner of Africa, are of Ethiopic origin, and the Danakil, to the east of Abyssinia, who erect pyramids as sepulchral monuments. In the 16th century the Gallas, a wild Mohammedan shepherd tribe, rushed down from the interior eastward upon Abyssinia, which they now encircle; and at the same time the Shyagas (Giaga) broke out from the interior westwards upon the Congo. Both tribes, however, speak languages which are closely related to those of the Somalis and Danakils,[1] and must therefore be regarded as Cushite. This is all the more probable, seeing that these tribes had been in early times driven from Ethiopia into the interior of the continent, and there abandoned the habits of civilisation, adopting the nomadic life of shepherds. How strongly in Africa a tendency toward an uncivilised mode of life had set in is proved by the fact that in the time of Ptolemy and Seneca the rising of the Nile in two lakes was well known, which presupposes an unopposed travelling through the Nyanza country; whereas in our times, after the utterly fruitless attempts of others, Samuel Baker succeeded only with the utmost difficulty in pressing his way through. The case has been similar in the south. In 1683 the English found the lands round about Delagoa Bay inhabited by a peaceable, good-hearted negro race; in 1816 the Zulu Kaffirs from the north rushed down and massacred them, changing the south-east of Africa into a region of war and conflict.[2] In favour, too, of the existence of a condition of culture in early times, the fact may be adduced that in Africa no traces of stone weapons have been found; but in the midst of fossil bones of hippo-

[1] Murray, "Vocabulary of the Galla Language," in Bruce's *Travels*, iii. p. 420. Prichard, i. 170.

[2] E. von Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, ii. 175.

potami and other animals identified with extant species in the delta of the Zambesi there have been found pottery and iron work, like those of the negroes of the present time, and also inland here and there remains of old smelting furnaces. "At a time when our forefathers had still their stone weapons, the Africans seem to have already reached a decidedly higher stage in their development."[1]

A second principal tribal division of the Africans is that of the Hottentots, who give us the impression of an old but fast vanishing mixed race. That they have negro blood in their veins is proved by their flat noses, protruding lips, the peculiarly thick development of the hips in the woman, and the strongly developed labia, covering the pudenda like a leather apron,—four physical characteristics which they have in common with the blackest of all negro races, the Joloffers of Senegambia.[2] That they are not pure negroes is shown by their prevalent custom, which they have in common with the Gallas, of besmearing their hair with fat, wearing a sheepskin and a girdle, and wrapping their heads round with the entrails of oxen.[3] Thus they were a mixed race of Gallas, that is, Ethiopic Cushites migrating in early times into the interior, and a negro tribe closely resembling the Joloffers. They had come there from the north, for in the region now peopled by the Kaffirs names of rivers and places are Hottentot.[4] In consequence, there still remains something peculiar about the colour of their skin. Their lighter hue may perhaps be accounted for by their longer residence in the temperate zone, but it is not merely lighter, but even inclines from sooty brown to yellow. The shape of their skulls, moreover, has a resemblance to those of the Chinese.[5] This would almost lead to the conclusion that some Mongolian tribe from India (Ceylon, § 267), perhaps through Madagascar,

[1] Livingstone's *Last Journeys.*
[2] Berghaus, *allg. Länder und Völkerkunde*, vi. p. 228 f.
[3] Blumenbach in Bruce's *Travels*, v. 256.
[4] Prichard, ii. 289 ff. [5] *Ibid.* i. 376 f.

had migrated to Africa, and got mixed up here with the Cushite Gallas and Joloffers, and had at a later period been driven southwards by the Kaffirs.

The negroes proper, among whom we must reckon, according to § 247, the pure descendants of blood, form a third family group. Up to the present time this group has only been partially examined. We know that the Dahomians, occupying the district between 6° and 7° north latitude and 18° and 21° east longitude, came from the interior of the Soudan to their present dwelling-place during the 17th century; that the Mandingoes, who occupy the region between 10° and 12° north latitude and 6° and 12° east longitude, did so during the 16th and 17th centuries; that the Ashantees, occupying the region between 5° and 7° north latitude and 14° and 18° east longitude, did so during the 18th century, and that the Joloffers were driven by them from the coasts of Senegambia. Each of these four races speaks its own language. The Joloffers and Mandingoes have become Mohammedans. From the east coast of the Gulf of Guinea in an inland direction the Bunda language predominates; farther inland, toward the north-west, we meet with the Bomba language. The Dahomians of the Slave Coast and their inland neighbours the 'Borgoes, who speak the same language, have a tradition that Bornu, the Lake Tchad, had changed its position,[1] and indeed to the north-east of the Lake Tchad lie two tracts of land called Borgu and Bergu. Names of coast places, too, are sometimes found in inland districts of the Soudan;[2] so that we agree with Lüken in the supposition that the whole mass of the negro race, coming from the Red Sea, migrated before the Cushites over Nubia and Darfur into the Soudan or Central Africa, and thence spread out westward and in a south-west direction to the coasts, and got split up into various tribes. The common derivation of these tribes would naturally be suggested by the essential similarity in

[1] Lander and Clapperton in Prichard, ii. 125.
[2] Lüken, *Einheit der Mensch.* p. 59 ff.

colour and bodily structure, in customs, institutions (slavery), and religion. Only the Fullahs show their Libyan origin by their bodily structure and countenance, as well as by the tradition current among them that they came from Numidia. In the Sahara and the Soudan they are called Fellatahs; among foreign races, in Senegambia, and on the Grain Coast, they were called Fullahs. That the North African Berber tribes are descendants of the Numidians, that is, the Libyans, is doubted by no one.

Obs.—The tribes of the Congo and of Loango appear to be a mixed race, having both Kaffir and Betchuana blood. Their language, however, decidedly belongs to the Bantu family of languages, that is, to the same class as those of the Kaffirs and Betchuanas. Negroes from Zanzibar and Mozambique easily make themselves understood by those of the Congo and Angolo. Wilson and de Page witness to this in Bastian, *Expedition a. d. Loangokuste*, i. 145 f. In order to make evident the connection of the languages I give the following tables, to which I add as less closely related the two negro languages, the Kirna language of Central South Africa and the Akra language of Western Africa:—

	I.	Thou.	He.	We.	You.	They.
Kaffir, . . .	*mina*	*wena*	*dshena*	tina	*nina*	*dshena*
Congo, . . .	*meno*	ngue	*odshandi*	*etu*	*enu*	au
Loango, . .	*i*	u	ka	*tu*	lu	ba
Kirna, . . .	*amiwa*	*avè*	ayè	*atwè*	awè	*atsha*
Akra, . . .	*me*	*o* (bo)	e (le)	*wo*	*nye*	ame

	Mine.	Thine.	His.	Our.	Your.	Their.
Kaffir, ...	amo	ako	ake	etu	enu	ake
Congo, ...	me	ku	ndi	etu	enu	au
Loango, ...	ame	aku	andi	ame	aku	andi
Kirna, ...	mina	ave	aye	mina	ave	aye
Akra, ...	mi	o	le	o (wo)	nye	ame

NUMERALS.

	Kaffir.	Kirna.	Akra.
1	munje	*kamo*	*ekome*
2	ma*bili*	tu*wili*	enyo
3	ma*tatu*	tu*satu*	*ete*
4	ma*ne*	tu*na*	edse
5	ma*hlanu*	tu*tano*	é*numo*
6	isi*tupa*	tu*sampa*	ek*pa*
7	isi*kombisa*	tusampa-la-wili	kpáwo
8	ishi*jangalombili*	mwanda	kpányo
9	ishi*jangalolunje*	kitema	néhu
10	is*humi*	di-*kumi*, or kikwi	*nyonmá*
11		di kumi *na* kamo	nyonma ke ekome
19	ishumi *na* shijangololunje		
20	amashumi mabili	vikwi viwili	nyonmai enyo
30		wikwi visatu	nyonmai éte
90	amashumi ashijangalolunje		
100	amakuli	katwa	ohá
1000			akpé
2000			akpeï enyo
The second			moni dsi enyo (he who is two)

The rank of these tribes in respect of culture, notwithstanding the scantiness of their clothing owing to the extreme heat, consisting of a loin cloth, apron, and jacket, is by no means very low. They manufacture their bark material (*lilibetite*) into various kinds, some of very fine texture and with artistic ornamentation. The smith (*fusi*, *gangula*) melts his copper by means of a blast furnace (*umkanda*), and makes nails (*luzenga*), by means of which again extremely fine ivory carvings are produced. Bastian represents on his title-page an elephant's tusk with one hundred and thirty-five figures upon it. As national and native money they have pieces of mat-cloth (*m' balla, plata-i-olo*). They have a game of marbles and a game of draughts (*fina* and *tschiella*), a dance (*tschina*) with dancing songs; also a very noisy kind of music, various sorts of trumpets, horns, trombones, guitars, and cymbals. Of a really artistic pictorial art Bastian found evidence (i. 85) in the temple of Bunsi in Tshimsinda, and a similar proof is afforded by the engravings of numerous groups of figures on elephants' teeth. In counting they use a knotted string (*mutschinga, m'singa*). For an account of the extraordinarily complicated civil constitution, with priest-kings, many grades of officers and priests, as well as an account of the civil and criminal

law and the law of heritage, see Bastian, i. pp. 191 ff., 216, 237, 253.

Obs. 2.—Some migration from India to Loango must undoubtedly have taken place at some time or other, but probably only at a comparatively recent period. In Loango the chiefs (*fume*) form a special caste in contrast to the people (*fioth*) and to their community of elders (*bomma*), and trace their origin from a king who came into the land as an invader from a foreign country (Bastian, i. 196, 200). Similarly there exists alongside of the genuinely African priestly caste of the *ganga melongho* a special class of war priests (*ganga bumbo*). The tradition of the people of Loango, that they had previously been called *bramas* (Bastian, pp. 47, 260), would by itself be of no great importance, since the resemblance to the Sanscrit word *Brahma* might be accidental; but the custom of the Loangans to wear yellow or red bands on their foreheads, reminds us of a similar custom among the Siva sect of India, those worshippers of Siva, who, according to § 265, was not an old Aryan deity. There is also a reminiscence of this worship in a form of prayer, in which the mother of the gods Bumsi is designated "bearer of the shell and the bow-string," and is said to dwell in the land of Sind; hence the place where the temple stands is called Tshimsinda. The war-god Bumbo reminds us of the Maha Bumbo of Ceylon (§ 267). The title given to holy men, *swamie*, is in Sanscrit *swâmin*, lord. Also the representation of various kinds of bananas in Loango (Bastian, p. 128) points to the native country of the banana. It may thus be fairly assumed that at some time, not before the birth of Christ, a Mongol-Cushite mixed horde from India, by way of Madagascar, invaded Africa, and settled on the Zaire as a dominant class over the original inhabitants, and brought with them new polytheistic religious elements.

A Jewish immigration also took place. Alvaro de Caminho in 1492 deported two thousand children of Spanish Jews to the island of St. Thomas. From thence a number must have crossed to the mainland near by, and from these the "Judeos" or Mawumbu are descended, who occupy certain villages in Loango. They have become quite black, but have still a distinctly Jewish physiognomy, live apart from the negroes, and are despised and hated by them because "they keep the trade to themselves, so that the negroes grow poor." They have thus preserved the national instinct, but of their religion only what had already impressed itself on the children in the form of customs; they continue rigidly to avoid swine's flesh and lighting a fire on the Sabbath, and on that day even speaking is forbidden. In other respects they are pure heathens (Bastian, pp. 42, 187, 275 ff.).

§ 277. *Religions of the Cushites of South Africa and of the Hottentots.*

A. The Kaffirs, including Zulus, Amakosas, Amapondas, etc., to whom also, according to Livingstone,[1] the Matabeles living north of the Lake Ngami belong, are a very finely-developed, athletic, intelligent race. They live, however, only for hunting and fighting, despising agricultural pursuits, and so leading a savage career of bloodshed.[2] This savage condition has accordingly contracted their religion into a mere superstitious belief in witchcraft. Among the Zulus their daughters are regarded as only pieces of merchandise, sold for cattle as wives to the highest bidders. These wives alone have all the work to do, the man passes his time in idleness, and two men may mutually agree to exchange their wives. To a distinguished guest the husband has to give up his handsomest wife. Among the other Kaffir races young men and women after reaching maturity, when circumcision is practised upon both, have the right for a period of free sexual intercourse with any individual desired. Adultery is only punished with a fine.[3] Amid all these evidences of degradation there are slumbering in the Kaffirs great mental capacities. In the Missionary Institute at Lovedale the Kaffir boys have made great progress in Latin and Greek, and the girls in music. The tribes most closely related to them, the Betchuanas, or more correctly the Tshuanas (*sing.* Mo-tschuan, *plur.* Be-tschuan), in the hill country south-east of Lake Ngami, have settled under a patriarchal constitution as owners of herds, and at the same time engaging in agricultural pursuits. They are therefore physically not so athletic, but have a better mental development, and have the highest place among them, especi-

[1] Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London 1857.

[2] The Zulus still brew beer (*leting*) from the sorghum caffrense, smelt and work iron, and ornament weapons and dress with engravings (von Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, ii. 201 f.).

[3] Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, ii. 215 ff.

ally the Bassutos,[1] bordering upon the Kaffirs. These had a complete feudal constitution, until in 1820 an inroad by the Kaffirs under Matati made their country desolate; under the pressure of famine they began to eat human flesh, which previously was unheard of among them. The chief Moshesh, gifted with high talents for command, restored the country, but put it under an absolute monarchy, and brought cannibalism to an end. The religion of the Betchuanas in practice almost wholly consists in Fetichism and witchcraft. They have, however, in their language the word *mo-rimo* for the idea of God, and possess a tradition of mo-Rimo as having first created the black, then the white men, but as having shown favour to the white rather than to the black, and as having, therefore, given to the white clothing and many beautiful things, but to the black only cattle, and the assegai, and the art of making rain. The principal features in the witchcraft of the Bassutos are these. From burnt bats, the limbs of rabbits, jackals' livers, baboons' or lions' hearts, and poisonous bulbous roots a decoction is prepared, and given as a drink to a sheep, which consequently dies. Another portion of the same ingredients is burnt, and the rising smoke infallibly brings rain. But the fact that first a sheep must be slain shows that at the basis of what is now a blinded superstition there lay the earlier worship of a rain-dispensing deity. The tribe of the Bassutos has, in fact, preserved considerable remnants of a primitive worship of a god. Indeed, the worship of ancestry which they celebrate, like the Mongolian races, is essentially distinguished from that of the Mongols by this, that they do not regard the souls of their ancestors as merely guardian spirits subordinate to the gods, but as themselves *barimo*, gods. When a Bassuto man dies, his soul takes up its abode among the ancestor-gods of the race, and consequently itself becomes a *rimo*. The body is buried wrapt up in a cowhide, and at the grave an animal sacrifice is offered, which is brought as the first mark of honour

[1] E. Casalis, *les Bassoutos, ou 23 années de séjour et d'observations au Sud d'Afrique*, Paris 1860.

to the new *rimo*, but at the same time also as an atonement for his trespasses committed on earth, in order to secure for him a friendly reception among the older ancestor-deities. These are regarded as dwelling under the earth, and are more feared than loved. At the birth of a child, too, an offering is brought to the ancestor-gods, that they may grant happy days to the newly born. The knowledge of mo-Rimo, who created the world, is a belief held quite formally, and exerting no influence alongside of this ancestor-worship. Of practical importance are the sorcerers (*linohe*) who foretell future things, impending dangers, etc., and are believed in notwithstanding the frequent failure of their prophecies. Polygamy prevails among those tribes generally. The wives are sold by their parents for cattle; the number of them possessed is therefore a sign of wealth. There is no want of jealousies and brawls between the different wives, and even the children are regarded as simply useful to the parents, the sons as herds of cattle, the daughters as marketable wares. The rising generation lives without order or discipline, and the father of the family rules despotically. The Betchuanan tribe of the Bakalahari, who inhabit the Kalahari desert, to the south of Lake Ngami, engage in agricultural pursuits. The Bushmen, however, living farther west, are, according to Livingstone, thoroughly uncivilised, a Betchuanan tribe become nomadic, which no longer possesses domestic animals except the dogs necessary for hunting, and consequently occupying in respect of religion the lowest place among uncivilised people, little raised above the condition of the beasts of the field.

B. The inhabitants of the Congo district and of Loango are usually described as fetich-worshippers, because the word *fetisso* has been rashly transferred to their amulets and charms, to their idols, and even to their gods. Such a proceeding, however, is quite wrong.

(*a*) *Fetisso* in reality means those sorts of evil spirits (*shimbi*) which have their residence in the breast of a sorcerer (*fetissero*), by the power of which he criminally inflicts upon

other men by witchcraft sicknesses, death, and misfortunes of all kinds. This, however, is not regarded as religion, but as wickedness, and is punished with death. Another class or order of *shimbi*, the *doko*, seem to be sorcerers (*dokien, endoxe*), with charms (*longho*) for the injury of other men. These *endoxe* are also, like the *fetissero*, punished with death as evil-doers.

(*b*) For protection against evil spirits and their familiars there are protective charms (*milongho*), which come from good spirits, and which are carried about the person in little bags. For the protection of houses, plantations, and temples, idol images are erected, and in front of their sacred places are set gates of three bars, reminding us of the Tartar custom, representing here as there simply an enclosure, a *φράγμα*.

(*c*) Out of the great multitude of such local guardian deities, however, there are some occupying a pre-eminent position which are found under the same name and with the same emblems in various places, and are already in this way characterized as old national deities. As such they are characterized by the circumstance that definite worship is appointed them, and priests (*ganga*) are assigned them. These gods are characterized by the appellation *kisso, kissie*, and, what is most important, are clearly distinguished by their images. In their temples there are empty couches, beside which emblems of the god are set; for example, in the temple of kisso-i-Nimina we find a wooden spear and an iron gong. From time to time the *kisso* is raised from the earth, takes unseen its place upon the couch, and then the priests beat upon the gong. The chief of all these *kisso* are the following: Bunsi, with the predicate Mama Mamkissie, mother of all gods,[1] who is worshipped in all parts of the land, and has, in Tshimsinda in Moanga, an oracle, where she invisibly rises from the earth in order to instruct a newly-crowned king in regard to his kingly duties by the mouth of her *ganga*. The Kissie insie,

[1] Bastian, *Expedition a. d. Loangoküste*, i. 223 f., translates loosely: Mother of all fetiches.

god of the earth, also called Mo-kisso insie Makonih, is represented by two wooden figures, the one bearing the other; also by a pot bound round with bands; less frequently also (as the god of harvest, Umkissie Boma) by a mere heap of animal skulls. The first-fruits of harvest are brought to him as an offering. His *ganga* gives his services likewise to Kissie 'mshiti, the god of the woods. A Kisso Mangáka protects from thieves and robbers, and whoever has a personal enemy, in order to rouse against him the anger of the god, drives a nail into the god's wooden image. The lower half of this image is covered with matting, and the bearded countenance is depicted with a flat retreating forehead. Mangáka's wife is called Matanga. For a similar reason nails are driven into Mabiali (Abiala, Mandembo); his image is of a white colour, the eyes of glass, with threatening outstretched arm; in his mouth a red cloth, on his head a mirror. Additional forms or additional names of this god are Mabiali-panso, Mabiari-pano, Manipanso. Nimina and his wife Njambi are the god of the fishing and the goddess of wealth and commerce. Lunsunsi, in Cabinda, is the god of the coasts, is regarded as the son of Bunsi, and has a brother, Um-wemwe, who slays the sorcerers. The itaphylle Kondu-mambo (Kombi-mambo), with his wife Umgulambenzi, seem to be gods of animal productiveness. In earlier time a Tshekoke (*Tshikoko*) had been worshipped as Mo-kisso kola, the mighty god, along with his wife Gumbiri. This perhaps was the old national war-god. On the war-god Bumba, see § 276, *Obs.* 2.

Besides these gods there are various others, some dispensers of rain, some protectors of their infants. We find that in Congo and Loango a developed polytheism has prevailed, which very generally grows over into witchcraft and superstition, but is in no way overgrown by the so-called fetichism, and is quite distinct from the actual *fetisso* belief.

(*d*) There are still, indeed, most evident traces remaining of an ancient monotheism. High above the *kissos*, imported perhaps in part or wholly at a later period from India (see

§ 276, *Obs.* 2), stands Zambi. This word *zambi* seems to be a primitive appellative of deity; for over against the good god Zambi am-Pungo we have the wicked god Zambi an-hi; and among the pirate tribe of the Solonghos, south of the Zaire, we have Zambi 'm-pi Tshimbi.[1] The proper name of the good god is Pungo (Pungu), which, singularly enough, is connected with the Bonga of the Kolhs (§ 274), whose name recurs generally among the most varied Melanesian and African tribes. The Loangans say of Zambi Pungo that he created the whole world, including *kissos* and also men; the latter sinned against him, and have been punished by being made black. The Solonghos or Mossorunghos south of the Zaire have a tradition that Zambi Pungo died, that is, his worship ceased to be practised; after his death another evil zambi, Zambi 'm-pi, arose, created the evil spirit Shimbi, and keeps up their numbers from the souls of the deceased. To the Shimbi belong the fish-god Kudshanga Nemadia, who is invoked on behalf of animal productivity; a god of the sea-storms, Memo diatudili mankumbi; an Umpoeta, who teaches men the arts, etc. The inhabitants of Cabinda, or Angoy, have a tradition that Zambi Pungo carries thunder and lightning in his hand; he created ma-Gog, the first king of the land of Angoy, and put under his protection the mother of the gods, Bunsi, who then, on her part, brought forth and created the various *kissos*. Thus in Zambi Pungo we have a distinct reminiscence of the one original God, the creator of the world.

(*e*) In Cabinda there is also associated with Zambi Pungo a tradition of the flood. Zambi had created all men white; when, however, a woman, out of curiosity, opened the door of a room in which wonderfully beautiful things were stored,[2] there fell over her head and that of her tempter a barrel full

[1] Similarly the Lobals place their good god Kashanda over against the evil god Mikitschi. The Moluwas, too, have a supreme god or creator, Kalumbo.

[2] Comp. the Papalangi stuff of the Tonga islanders, § 272.

of black colouring powder, whereby both were made black. She fled screaming from Em-puto[1] to the river Zaire. The following tradition of the flood in Cabinda is very fully developed. When the whites stayed away from the coast, the sacred palm-tree closed up its crown, and thick clouds gathered over heaven and earth. Njambi, the goddess of wealth, retired to Em-puto. Always heavier the clouds hung overhead, till at last birds, *bende-bende*, were let loose from the confinement of the palm-tree, and flew hither and thither. Now Njambi turns back; the clouds fled, the sun shone forth in his full strength, and ships came again with white people. A modern element, the keeping away and the coming again of ships with white people, is here confusedly mixed up with the older part of the tradition. If in the old legend mention was made of a ship which after a long voyage found landing at last, it is evident how such a story, when it was no longer understood, was confusedly interpreted and combined with elements of quite a recent origin. The Portuguese whites appeared at first to the blacks as almost superhuman beings, and Njambi was the goddess of commerce. What wonder, then, that they should understand the going out and coming again, of the withdrawal and return, of the Portuguese ships? A quite similar commingling of an old legend with a modern element was observed (§ 278) among the Odshís.

(*f*) The most remarkable point is that the belief in Zambi has practically counteracted, by means of its awaking effect on the conscience and its moral influence generally, the worst consequences of polytheism and witchcraft. In consequence of polygamy, vindicated by Bastian on medical grounds, immorality and adultery, especially on the part of women, are frequent, and married women often seek to seduce youths into sin by measures analogous to those spoken of in Gen. xxxix. 12 ff. If, now, Zambi is called upon, settling invisibly

[1] Is there here concealed a reminiscence of Phut? Em-puto may be the land or the inheritance where the first progenitor of the tribe lived.

on a wooden plate, married women are obliged to confess unreservedly all their failings, and to obtain forgiveness. There have thus sprung up a certain kind of marriages, Lemba marriages, which are concluded with special ceremonies, with invocation of a *kissie* Lemba, holding a particular relation to Bunsi and Zambi, and its members are under strict obligation to faithfulness and eventual confession in the presence of Zambi. Oaths, too, are sworn by Zambi. In short, what little good is to be found among these peoples is connected with the belief in Zambi Pungo. For the rest, the moral and social conditions which are the immediate consequence of the kisso-polytheism and fetisso-witchcraft are sad enough. As the Malays have their *taboo*, so the tribes of Congo and Loango have their *quidsilles* and *schinas*, that is, to every individual from childhood something or other in itself quite harmless is forbidden: one must never give any one a hand, another may eat no *maniock*, a third must not cross the Zaire, etc. In the observance of this superstition they are evidently quite equal to the Pharisees; but impurity is not forbidden. When one is sick the *gangas* come, set themselves down smoking hemp, and amid noisy music work themselves into a frantic condition, and declare whether the sickness of the sick person has been caused by the breaking of a *schina*, or by some *fetissero* who has bewitched him. In the latter case, he who is charged as guilty is either subjected to ordeals, such as the drinking of poisoned *cassa*, which, if causing vomiting, shows him guiltless, if otherwise, shows him guilty, or is driven to confession by the most revolting and cruel tortures, and the convicted or confessor is burnt alive or else put to death on the rack. There are also human offerings during war, and on the death of every king or prince or eminent individual.

(*g*) The dead are roasted to mummies over fire, and are then buried; into the graves of chiefs their images are cast. The continuance of the soul after death in a ghostly condition is put in connection with the appearance of the new moon.

In Congo the appearance of the crescent moon is greeted with the words *Eatua fua, eatua dshinga,* man dies, man lives again.

C. On the religion of the mixed race of the Hottentots, it is reported to us from a period in which it continued uninfluenced by Europeans, or at least less under such influence than now,[1] that in practice their chief object of worship was the moon, although they said expressly that this was not the highest, but only a subordinate and visible god,—a sign that even they still possessed the idea of one invisible supreme God. To the moon they ascribed the control of the weather. At every full moon and new moon they gathered together, danced, shouted, and clapped their hands till sun-down, and cried—"We greet thee, we welcome thee; give us fodder for our cattle, and milk in abundance!" Besides this, they had a peculiar worship of animals. An insect of their country with green back, white and red speckled belly, and two wings,[2] was regarded by them as an incarnation of a benevolent deity. When one of these appeared in a village, they gathered around, danced about in wrapt devotion, offered him two fat sheep, sprinkled before him powdered *Spiræa* (meadow sweet), feeling assured that by his appearance all guilt is forgiven, and blessing and good fortune are secured. If that insect lights upon a man, he is regarded as a saint well-pleasing to the deity, and to the honour of both the fattest ox is immediately slaughtered as a thank-offering. After the death of such a saint, a mountain or a river is called after his name. Whoever passes through such a place ought to conceal his head in his cloak and dance round the place, imploring the saint for his protection. As, then, this chafer worship reminds us of the scarabæus of the Egyptians, and affords a new witness in favour of the derivation of the Hottentots from the neighbourhood of Egypt, the land of the

[1] H. Adam, *View of Religions.*

[2] The *mantis religiosa*, a locust-like creature, with a head turning to every side. See Weber, *Vier Jahr in Afrika*, part 2, p. 210.

Gallas, see § 276, the worship of an evil spirit, whom they seek to pacify by offerings of oxen and sheep, tells of their mixing with the negro tribes.

D. Even in the north-east of Africa there is to be found in the Wagandas on Lake Nyanza a tribe of Ethiopic descent.[1] They had, according to their own traditions thirty-five generations ago, according to Stanley's well-grounded opinion at a much earlier period, made their way hither from the north. They have the tradition that a pious man, Kintu, a priest, had migrated, together with his wife and some domestic animals, and seeds of various kinds, to Uganda, which was then wholly uninhabited, rapidly peopled the land with his children, of whom his wife bare four to him every year, and who came into the world bearded and already arrived at man's estate, introduced the banana and potato plant, and held in abhorrence all shedding of blood. A paradisiacal state prevailed. But when his children discovered the art of brewing banana wine (comp. Gen. ix. 20 ff.), and in consequence excess, godlessness, and violence began, Kintu went forth with his wife during the night, and has been sought for in vain by his successors on the throne, his son and grandsons, Tshwa, Kamiera, Kimera. There is here something that reminds us of paradise, the fall, and Noah. It is noticeable that in Mowa at the Livingstone Falls the name Kintu occurs as the title of their chiefs.[2] There is also found round about the Victoria Nyanza the root Mani, Mana, Moeni, Muini, in Uregga Wana, in Bateke Land, Nwana, which are identical with Manu, meaning lord.[3] The tribal relationship between the Wagandas and the Bassutos and the Congo negroes is shown by the relationship of their languages. Among all these peoples, *mo* and *m'* is the prefix of the singular, *ba, be, wa* that of the plural. See, for particulars of the linguistic relationship, the comparative tables of Stanley, vol. ii. pp. 536–551.

[1] Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. i. chap. xiv.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 425. [3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 545.

§ 278. *The Religion and Traditions of the Negroes.*

If one reads the usual descriptions given by missionaries and other travellers of the social and religious condition of the negroes, one would suppose that these tribes had as good as no religion, or that at least their religion consisted in a mere senseless fetich-worship, since any sort of potsherd, a broken bottle, thrown-out offal, is regarded, venerated, and feared as an awfully mighty thing, and as at the same time an amulet. It is quite true that among many negro tribes religion has been degraded and shrivelled up into such fetich-worship, especially since about the year 1517, when Europeans, calling themselves Christian, introduced the slave trade and brandy, which have exercised a dreadfully deteriorating influence, socially, morally, and also religiously, upon the negro race.[1] The remnants, however, of a quite complicated civil constitution[2] show significantly enough that these tribes have sunk from a higher stage of civilisation.[3] Then, again, if only one carefully considers that among the most of these tribes, besides these absurd private fetiches of individual negroes and their sorcerers, there also exist idol temples with idol images, that, *e.g.*, the Joruba city Abbeokuta before its conversion to Christianity swarmed with idol images, and that in it the gods, the highest of which is called Shango, were honoured with

[1] Compare, in regard to this, Bastian, *Expedition a. d. Loangoküste*, i. p. 352.

[2] *E.g.* among the Akwamboo negroes, a king ruling over 400 square miles, under him four chamberlains: he and they limited by the village councils. Each village, again, has its president, along with a set of village councillors. The chamberlains are also war chiefs. All higher ranks are hereditary (*Basler Miss. Mag.* 1837, p. 537 ff.). Among the Bulloms and other tribes of Western Africa we find a monarchy limited by a regular nobility with an electoral kingship. At the head of every village there is an elected chief (*Basler Miss. Mag.* 1839, H. 2, p. 187 f.). The Jorubas distinguish *ogbonis*, that is, civil authorities, and *baloguns*, that is, war chiefs (*ibid.* 1858, Feb.).

[3] So also have the cannibal Wavinza negroes on the Victoria Nyanza a developed art of iron-smelting and copper-founding as an industry understood by tradition. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent.*

festivals with solemn processions,[1] that among the Akwapim human offerings are brought to particular idols,[2] that generally among the most of the negro tribes human victims are slain in fearful numbers, not only during war, but also at the graves of distinguished persons, which probably indicates an idea of a god of death, we shall no longer be able to doubt, that even where now there remains over only that fetich-worship, there had originally lain at the foundation of it some sort of polytheistic worship of a higher sort. But we are fortunately able to prove this in the most decided manner in regard to one negro tribe, and not this only, but there have also been found there very evident traces of an original monotheism which passed over into polytheism, and it is highly probable that by continued minute investigation in Africa those traces will be found in other districts.

The Odshi negroes[3] on the Gold Coast, in the Akwapim mountains, not only knew, but still continued to worship one god, the supreme creator of the world, whom they call Onjang-kō-pong, or shortly, Onjame,[4] from *njam*, to beam forth, and a root that is not otherwise found in their language, *kopong*, but which we have assumed to be quite synonymous with *kubong* (§ 272 f.) among the Alfurus of Australia; its second syllable, *pong, bong*, we have found also among the Kolhs, § 274, as *bonga*, spirit, god: so that we may here with certainty conclude that there was a primitive Hamitic root *bong*, which was originally an appellative for God, and seems to have designated God as an invisible Spirit. Onjang-kō-pong, the god Pong, is synonymous with the Singbonga of the Kolhs, with the *dêva, deus, tîûs* of the Aryan

[1] *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1885, Feb. p. 74 f.

[2] *Ibid.* 1837, p. 555.

[3] The report of the missionary Mader in the *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1862, September. The same in all essential respects, only less thorough and complete, had been reported previously by other missionaries. Compare issue of 1837, H. 3.

[4] The various Akra or Gâ tribes worship Njongmo or Onjame as the highest being, the creator of heaven and earth. J. Zimmermann, *Vocabulary of the Akra or Gâ Language*, p. 337.

races. We find this Pungu again in the interior of Africa under the slightly changed form of Mungu. "The Makonde at Rowana believe in an invisible god, Mungu."[1] "At Lake Bangweolo they call God Mungu or Mulungu."[2] This widely-spread name is also found in Bambarra-land in Moero, where Mulungu has also the additional name of Reza, and a good Reza in heaven is distinguished from a wicked Reza in the lower world.[3] Besides the name Mungu, we also here and there meet with the name Chesimpu,[4] which plainly points to the Zambi of the Loango Coast. Also the Uandalas south of Bornu have a good god Da-dámia, whose name in part sounds like Zambi; besides him they have an evil god Oeksèe, and á good spirit Abi.[5] The name of the chief idol of Alkum, Boka,[6] reminds us of Pungu. In every invocation of an inferior deity, and in every sacrificial act, the Odshis utter first the name of Onjame, then the earth, and only afterwards that of the inferior god. They have these proverbs: "The hawk says, Everything that Onjang-kō-pong has made is good. No one shows the smithy to the smith's son; if he understands smith-work, it is Onjame that has taught him. The earth is vast, but Onjame is the highest. So long as Onjame slays thee not, thou shalt not die, even though a man wished to kill thee. When the cock drinks water, Onjame points him to it. Wilt thou speak with Onjame, tell it to the wind." The clouds of heaven are the border and outer part of God. He maintains the supervision of all things, and considers the conduct of men. The earth is called *wjase*, literally, what is under the sun. The sun is *awjia*, moon and stars; *nsoromma*, heaven's children; and they are the servants of God. Indeed, *awjia* is a friendly servant, who with his beams, *anuenjam*, shines willingly upon the earth, and thus, too, rises daily. The moon, again, is a murderer, *aundifo*, who carries the death drum, which is visible in the spots on the

[1] Livingstone's *Last Journals*, London 1874.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*
[5] Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika*, ii. 62. [6] *Ibid.* ii. 223.

moon, and by beating it slays many men, calls forth sicknesses on its becoming full; hence God allows it to become full only once a month, but to be out of sight for two whole days. The stars are appealed to for the blessing of children. Besides these star-gods, there are a multitude of inferior deities, regarded by missionaries as principal fetiches, which receive divine worship. The Odshi negroes call them children of God, and describe them as created beings, and indeed as spirits (*ahonhom*, from *home*, to breathe; *sunsum*, from *sum*, dark, invisible; in Gâ, *sisa*), which are in themselves invisible, but can become visible to the initiated as fleeting forms in a white sheet, and to other men make themselves and their will known mediately through animals, trees, etc. The appellative for these inferior deities, *òbosom*,[1] from *òbo*, stone, and *som*, to serve, indicates that at an earlier time these were considered to be present in sacred stones, and must have been worshipped, as indeed several traditions testify.[2] They are also called Atumfo, the mighty ones, because they have from Onjame absolute power over the life and death of men, only, according to the present belief of the Odshis, they have not this power over a witch or against the use of an amulet. God is their father, a reminiscence of the *b'ne elohim*, whom we meet with again in the Adityas of the Indians and the Ameshaspentas of the Iranians. They are absolutely dependent on his will, and they carry it out. If a man has done evil, they bring the case first of all before God; if he approves the same, they execute the sentence, for they bring sickness or death upon the guilty. They move hither and thither between heaven and earth. Whoever wishes to pray must address himself to them; then they bring his prayer before God. They are gracious to all who serve them. But such a false mediatorship must necessarily lead to a polytheistic development. Among the Odshis generally there is recog-

[1] By *ò* I indicate the open sound, that is, between *o* and *a* in the middle of a word, like the English *aw*.

[2] See later on under the tradition *C*.

nised a superior *òbosom* called Bosompra or Obosomdade, the iron Obosom, who is at the same time the house-obosom of the king of Akwapim, the *kwaw dade*, the iron man, and receives yearly a sheep in sacrifice. Under him stand next in order Kjengku, Akonedi, and Ohjiar; then comes a river god, Ajesu, good-water; Akjefo, one who partakes of sacrificial flesh; Burukumadaw, as guardian spirit of the fields; Awansamme, to whom the tiger, dog, and antelope are sacred; Kjeritinanse, poison spider; Dâsik-ji, as the guardian spirit of the river Volta, etc. The worship of this *òbosom*, however, is now in practice completely overshadowed by the worship of *akomfoabosom*, the spirits of the fetich prophets, that is, the fetiches proper or the idols (*amagâ*, *wodshi*). The latter have, according to the statements of the Odshis themselves, had their origin and have come into favour in a recent period, and daily new ones are being added from the sorcerer priests. In earlier times, say they, the *òbosoms* lived with men; but then they separated from them, and went apart into a certain grove where there was a lake with a serpent. They now bring to them also human sacrifices: the bodies of the victims are laid in that grove, and remain lying there unburied. The *akomfoabosom*, whose number is legion, are not well-disposed, but mischievous, evil spirits, who know nothing of goodness and mercy, and slay every one without favour who does not secure their goodwill by bringing gold and palm wine to the priest. Thus we can clearly perceive how the fetich-worship originated. The insertion of the *òbosom* between Onjame and men brought men into dependence upon the priests, and the instinctive cunning and greed of the priests, together with the fear of the powers of darkness and death, to whom men of an unexpiated conscience felt themselves delivered over, occasioned the spiritual bondage and superstition of the fetich-worship. Among the Odshis alongside of and behind this fetich-worship the worship of the *òbosom* and the knowledge of the one God still endure. Among many other negro tribes, but certainly not among all,

nothing now remains save the bare product of the fetich-worship. The souls of the deceased (*sissa*) are feared as ghosts by the Odshis. When an Odshi rises up from a chair, he turns it over so that no *sissa* may sit upon it.[1]

The legends of the Odshis are extremely worthy of attention. They are wont in the evenings to gather their children together, and tell them the old legends and stories of their race. That now, when they give out anew their stories, they should mix up many marvels with their legendary tales, does not astonish us so much as the amount of truth that they have retained from the primitive traditions of mankind.

A. In regard to the creation they say: God began the creation on a *kwasida*, the first of their week of seven days, and completed it on *fida*, the sixth day of the week. On the seventh day He created nothing, but gave man a command. In those six days He created first the woman, then the man, then animals, then plants, then the rocks,—just reversing the order. Men were after their creation sent forth into this sub-solar world (*wjase*), a reminiscence of the expulsion from Eden.

B. The fall: — formerly God was very near to men; when they needed anything, they just pointed with a staff upward, then it rained fish and other things. But a woman who pounded a *fusu*, a banana fruit, in a mortar, went with the pestle inadvertently into God's presence. Then was God angry and withdrew into the high heavens,[2] and listened no more to men. After six rainless years came a famine which compelled them to slay men. At the advice of a wise man they sent a messenger to God, acknowledging they

[1] The report of the missionary Riis in Akropong, *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1837, p. 560 ff.

[2] And with him the *òbosom*, as results necessarily from what is afterwards told that God sends again in answer to the prayers of men Obosomtûa. But this return of the *òbosom* into high heaven is to be distinguished from the withdrawal of the *òbosom* into the grove, which is a later occurrence. The Odshis themselves seem to have confounded the two, for the serpent which exists in that grove identifies the grove with the garden of Eden.

had done wrong, and entreated Him to send one of His counsellors, *òsafohene*, who should care for them. Then God sent His highest minister Obosomtûa and his wife Ntûabea, with the message that He would now no longer scorch them, but would give rain in its proper season: when the rainbow would appear, they should fire their muskets, and remember God the giver of rain and sunshine. (We observe here a striking intermixture with a certain reminiscence of the flood, of the story of a specifically African disaster, the want of rain, which overshadows the other.) Obosomtûa dwelt now as *òbosom* or inferior deity in the west, his wife in the east, of the country, and placed around also six other *òbosom*, Obosomdade, Ajesu, Akiefo, Kjeretinanse, Awansamme, and Burukumadaw.

C. The legend of the flood, of Noah, and the tower building is very much disfigured, but still quite recognisable. It turns again on man being driven forth upon the earth. There were two Gods in heaven (*onjangkŏpong*), and two men, a white and a black. (This feature in the legend of a distinction between white and black men is referred back to heaven,—a tradition probably derived from a primitive period, see § 272 f.) The two Gods—God and Satan—fought long with one another for the possession of the two men. Finally, the people of heaven (*òrsoromang*) agreed to cast the two men out of heaven. Borebore, to whom, as the servant of God, another legend, given under *D*, ascribes the creation of the world, let the two men down to earth by a chain, which he hung round his neck, and stayed with them a hundred years. Then he dug an enormous pit, and brought down a fearful rain from all sides, which rushed like a river over the earth, but in the pit dug by the wise Borebore it found a place where it would empty itself. The rain filled this pit: then rose up the sea between the black and the white people. Borebore swept with a broom his wisdom into a box, but lost this, and must die. The white man found the wisdom-box, and discovered by means of it a medicine to

save from death. Because men, however, were too old, too hostile to one another, and too numerous, he renounced the use of this means (a truly heathen way of minimizing the necessity of death!); but the black man concluded to worship the stone on which he sat. There was then only one language among men. The whites joined things together and placed what they had made on the waters. (A confusion between the ark and the first European ships.) They went into the land of the blacks, and before they parted from these they made an attempt to mount up to heaven. They heaped all their fusu-mortars on one another to make a tower. Only one mortar was then wanting, and they took out the lowermost to place it on the top, but now the whole tower, wanting a foundation, fell and had slain them all had they not instantly fled. They were scattered over the earth, and thus sprang up the multitude of different languages.

D. Borebore, as already remarked, plays a part in yet another legend of the Odshis. God sent out Adomankama and Borebore with the instruction to create the earth, *wjase*. Sleepless and with never halting motion they drove through all regions until they came to Efoo, the black monkey, who took them with him to eat and to spend the night with him. Waking from sleep, they separated: Borebore went to Africa and created the products that are found there; Adomankama parted the sea with a cow's tail, went to Europe, and created all things that are found there. Then the legend itself runs out into a cow's tail, for it goes on to relate that Adomankama at a later time came to Africa in a ship and brought the negroes brandy, which in this form is naturally a recent addition, but possibly only a modernized version of a reminiscence of Gen. ix. 20 ff., similar to the Kintu tradition current among the Wagandas. In the original tradition evidently Adomankama and Borebore stand in relation to the separation of the races of mankind, and so are parallel to the sons of Noah or Manu, and in Adomankama we may perhaps find a trace of the name Manu. But the post-

diluvian condition of the earth is here, as among so many other nations, confused with the first creation of the world; hence those two as servants of God appear in the original creation. According to Mader, Borebore is derived from the Odshi word *bo*, to create, which seems related to the Sanscrit word *bhu;* but from the appearance of the consonant *r* it reminds us much more strikingly of Buri and Börr of the Scandinavian legend (§ 250), who corresponds to the Noah of the biblical primitive tradition, whose name is derived from the primitive Sanscr. root *bhr*, *φέρειν*, Lat. *ferre*, Goth. *bairan*, Old High Germ. *bëran*, Celt. *ber*, *biur*, Heb. ברא and בר, son, Mong. *bari*, to bring, to give. Borebore, however, seems in the original legend current among the negroes to have corresponded not so much to Noah as to Adam, or the persons of Adam and Noah have been confounded together in it. The disobedience into which he allowed himself to be seduced by the black monkey, reminds us distinctly of the fall.

E. I add here a tradition that prevails among another race on the Gold Coast, the Ashantees.[1] In the beginning God created three white and three black pairs, and gave them the choice between good and evil, for He laid on the earth a calabash and a sealed leaf. The blacks chose the calabash, but found therein only a piece of gold, and a piece of iron, and other metals, the use of which they did not know. The whites took the sealed papers, and it told them everything. When now God was angry with the blacks, they wandered away from Him, and worshipped subordinate spirits, who presided over the rivers, mountains, and woods. This tradition in its present form is evidently modern. It cannot have taken this shape before the arrival of Europeans, and was made apparently under the influence of astonishment at their skill in writing and reading. The kernel of it, however, is found in a primitive tradition which makes its appearance in Tonga and in America, as well as among the

[1] Bowdik, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, London 1819, p. 344.

Odshis, of the white and black brothers, and especially we find in it the consciousness that the fetich-worship marks a secondary religious stage, which had been preceded by the worship of one God. The Ashantee language, too, has a word to indicate the idea of God.

The supreme god of the Jorubas, Shango, was the god of thunder and lightning. The Egbas worship a good god Obbatalla, over against whom is the evil god Shugudu. The Nupis worship one supreme god Soko, who is again evidently identical with the Shango of the Jorubas. The names Zambi, Shango, Soko, form an etymological series. The heathen tribes existing in and around Bajirmi in the Soudan have all a belief in one supreme, invisible being. They regard the thunder as his voice, and assign his dwelling to the clouds.[1] The negroes of the Bonny country call their temples Uru-houses, *uru-wara*, or in the Ebo dialect, houses of Ara, *olo ab-ara*. They thus have *uru*, *ara* as an appellative of God.

There are now, however, negro tribes widely spread through Central Africa, among whom there is still preserved the knowledge, yea the worship, of the one invisible god Mungu, Mulungu. There is such a knowledge among the Makra negroes, who "have a clear conception of a supreme being, but do not pray to him;"[2] among the Matambwes, who "tremble before Mulungu, do not willingly speak of him, and fear misfortune when he is spoken of."[3] There is such a worship in the countries between the Lakes of Nyassa, Bangweolo, Tanganyika, and Muero, where they know nothing of idols and fetiches.[4] The Maganjas of Lake Nyassa in a case of death say of the deceased: Mungu took him. The inhabitants of these regions in respect of their bodily formation, a fine facial angle, good cast of countenance, and lips not protruding, occupy a position nearer the original type of the negro, and show less evidence of deterioration;[5] and traces

[1] Comp. Nachtigal, *Sáhara und Sudan*, 1881, part 2, p. 685.
[2] Livingstone's *Last Journals*.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

are found among them of previous higher culture, of the exercise of the art of agriculture, smith's and potter's craft.[1] The maintenance of a higher religious position among them goes hand in hand with the preservation of a nobler form of a physical type.

That the knowledge and worship of the one invisible God is the original, and the heathenism is the element afterward introduced, is demonstrated incontestably from this, that the root of the divine name, Punga, Bonga, Mungu, is common to the most diverse negro tribes, and even to the most diverse Hamite tribes, therefore in use before their separation, whereas each tribe has its own designation for the inferior deities, idols, fetiches, and spirits. Thus, for example, in Central Africa, as designations of the souls of deceased men, we meet with the words *ngolu* and *mezimo;* then in the Gâ language, *sise, sunsum;* in the speech of the Loango Coast, *fetisso* and *shinbi;* the gods are called by the Odshi *obosom,* in Loango *kissie,* among the Betchuanas *rimo,* in Manjuema *nkongolo;* idol images among the Odshis are called *amagâ* and *wödshi,* etc. In Majuemeland, between Lake Tanganyika and the river Lualaba, there exists still the transition stage between the old monotheism and the fetich and spirit worship. A god of heaven is still worshipped under the name of Gulu, which means above or heaven; but there is placed alongside of him a god of earth, Mamou, which means below. Souls after death go to Gulu, and are worshipped as ancestor-deities by the erection of wooden and tin images of the ancestors, and by the offering of goat's flesh.[2] The names of particular subordinate deities are entirely different among the various tribes. For example, among the Kanuris of Bornu there are a forest-god Koliram, a water-god Ngámaram; among the Afoos there are the animal-shaped idol Dodo with two faces, one bearded the other beardless, and Harna-ja-mussa, sitting without arms; among the Batumas, on the islands in Lake Tchad, there is a god of storms Nadshikenem, and two good spirits Betziromäino

[1] Livingstone's *Last Journals.* [2] *Ibid.*

and Bakoma-mäin.[1] The Wagandas acknowledge one god, a creator of the world, whom they call Kabonda. Especially to the god of thunder do they present offerings and prayers.[2]

Chapter IV.—The Peoples and Hordes of America.

§ 279. *Introductory.*

We possess a useful work upon the history of the religions of the primitive inhabitants of America, which has been wrought up with great diligence, but it is only in the form of a collection of materials. J. G. Müller of Basel, in his *Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, Basel 1855, has indeed assured us in his preface that he has no intention whatever of doing anything more than to present a statement of facts. In the execution of his work, however, he has done the very opposite, and has put a violent pressure upon his facts in the form of a scheme of *à priori* conceptions which he carries with him. His fundamental error consists in his refusing to hear any question about a historical connection between those races and religions and the races and religions of the Old World, and his tracing the origin of the American religions purely to physical causes. In cold climates the mind must turn to belief in ghosts and shamanism, and in warm climates to the worship of the sun. This would require us to regard Senegambia as possessed of a very cold climate! (See § 278.) How far one may be carried by such *à priori* constructions is shown in the case of Fr. von Erdmann (see § 260, *Obs.* 3), which should afford a warning against such methods. The Great Spirit of the redskins is, according to J. G. Müller, only the chief of the hobgoblins, and indeed scarcely makes a figure at all after Müller has laboriously proved that that Great Spirit is not the God of the Christians! Surely the petrifaction of a palm is not the

[1] Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika*, ii. pp. 10, 199, part 1, p. 333 ff.

[2] *Basler Miss. Mag.* 1880, p. 252.

living palm, but yet it gives evidence that a living palm had once existed there. The legends of the Peruvians, Toltecs, and other tribes of foreign origin, who introduced culture and the worship of the sun into the country, may be ever so clear and definite, yet J. G. Müller reduces them all to an *à priori* constructed sun-myth, in which the sun-god is represented as the god and patron of agriculture; in this way, by and by, he might make a sun-god out of the Scandinavian god Odin. However distinctly traces of a knowledge of the flood are found among the most diverse American tribes,—a flood which came upon the earth after the human race had existed there, from which only one pair was saved,—those traditions, according to J. G. Müller, are only cosmogonic philosophemes explaining the origin of the world from the water; as if these Indian tribes had troubled their heads about such problems, and had simply adopted the philosophical principle of Thales! The animal attributes of the gods he regards as original forms under which conceptions of the gods had been formed; the idea of gods in human form is generally of later growth.

The Mexican priesthood is extremely like that of the Buddhist, down even to minute details of their dress, and their monkish orders, and their seminaries; in the empire of the Incas, Chinese customs, and institutions, and religious ceremonies are still scrupulously preserved, down to the smallest particulars; but these immigrations from Asia must upon no account be thought of. These are fancies, but no history. The constant; ant-like diligence, however, with which J. G. Müller has gathered together from a literature very rich but very fragmentary, and often hard to disentangle, the material for a scientific investigation, though it may be only in an unmethodized heap of chaff and chips, is deserving of our sincere gratitude.

When, now, I set myself to work up this material (in regard to which generally it may here suffice to refer to the pages of Müller, where the sources and guarantees are found carefully

recorded), it is quite evident that I shall not separate the ethnographical question about descent and extraction from the religious and historical, and that in regard to both of these questions the linguistic researches, to which Buschmann[1] before all others has made important contributions, will be employed by me as a lever, yea, often as a foundation. In ethnographical matters Rauch[2] has broken ground in a very capable manner. He has properly acknowledged that one should not allow himself to be determined by any isolated characteristic to assume this or that derivation for any one American tribe.[3] Besides what we learn from the anatomical physical constitution, we must have relationship in manners and customs; besides proof of the physical possibility of a migration or sea voyage from the conjectured fatherland to the American abode, we must have some historical record of the fact, even though it be only in the form of a tradition. If then, moreover, the facts thus arrived at are confirmed by the manifest affinity of the religion; if, for example, the worship of the moon in connection with impure practices is found among such tribes of the East Coast opposite Africa as have a construction of skull and a dark colour which point to a North African extraction; if, on the other hand, a faithful reproduction of the Chinese customs and constitution, and the Chinese worship of the sun, is found among the Western tribes of a light colour and oblique eyes,—the facts arrived at obtain a very important confirmation. That the population found by the discoverers of America in possession of the

[1] J. E. O. Buschmann, "Spuren der aztek. Sprache im Norden Mexiko's," in the *Abhandl. der Berl. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1854, Suppl. vol. ii. "Ueber die aztek. Oetsnamen," *ibid.* 1852. "Ueber die athapaskischen Sprachen," *ibid.* 1859. "Die Völker und Sprachen Neumexiko's," *ibid.* 1857, p. 209 ff.

[2] P. M. Rauch, *die Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes*, Augsb. 1837, pp. 266–366.

[3] Even the single fact that Europeans who live long in Brazil find their hair becoming crisp and splitting at the ends, and their skin assuming a greyish yellow colour (Oscar Canstatt, *Brasilien*, Berl. 1877, p. 17), shows how alongside of descent, yet in spite of and in contradiction to it, the climate has an influence upon the bodily constitution.

country, was made up of tribes of very diverse extraction, is proved by the differences of colour. We have (§ 125, *Obs.* 1) convinced ourselves from facts in our possession that sameness of colour does not justify us in concluding to sameness of origin; but all the more surely does diversity of colour in the same country and climate lead to the assumption of diversity of origin. When, then, in California, alongside of the majority of the tribes remaining there, who are dark-coloured, and, according to Rollin and Prichard, have negro skulls and short depressed noses, we find the bright-coloured tribe of the Monas;[1] when on the northern coasts of South America, alongside of the dark-coloured Caribs worshipping a moon-goddess, we find the light-coloured, small-nosed Guaranis; on the banks of the Amazon, alongside of the black Amaquas, the light-coloured, oblique-eyed Botocudos, who call themselves Aymaras,[2] and in this unwittingly give evidence of their tribal affinity with the Peruvian Aymaras of Lake Titicaca,—it is shown by this and similar circumstances to be a fact, that races of very diverse origin had migrated to America, and having thrust themselves among one another, they here and there, quite naturally, got blended together.

In conclusion, there only remains the question, what weight in this investigation should be allowed to the language and the affinity of the languages of the several groups of tribes? Tribes which, notwithstanding local separation from each other, still speak the same or a very similar language, or at least have important roots common to one another, certainly prove thereby their tribal affinity.[3] On the other hand, diversity of language affords no incontestable proof against sameness of origin. There is found in the languages of uncivilised, or even half-civilised people, quite demonstrably a remarkable process of rapid and most irregular transmutation

[1] Rauch, *die Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 278.

[2] Müller, *amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 241.

[3] Thus Buschmann has proved the linguistic and tribal affinity of the Sonora group, and the same again in regard to the Athabascans.

of sounds, and a change of language going the length of becoming unintelligible to those who have its earlier form. The comparison of the Greek dialects with one another shows an interchange of gutturals and labials (ποῖος, Ionic κοῖος, etc.); among Celtic languages, the Welsh has constantly changed gutturals into labials; but what is that in comparison to the changes of sound introduced into the Burmese languages, although in these, as monosyllabic languages, there is no opportunity of changing the root-stems by inflection or agglutination. There the present language as spoken differs completely from that of former times fixed in writing;[1] *kak* has become *tet*, *kri* is *shi*, *kra* is *kya*, *thang* is *thi*, etc. What, then, must it have been in the case of the agglutinate languages of America, where, in addition to this agglutinate construction, it was customary to mutilate the several roots in the rarest and most capricious manner?[2] With what rapidity such languages come to be unintelligible, that is, to be completely changed, Moffat[3] and Tschudi[4] show by most notable examples. Single troops of Indians, as Tschudi tells, are separated from the main body of the tribe, pass into distant regions, and there form for themselves an essentially new language, at least an idiom, which contains an altogether new vocabulary, and is not intelligible to the mother tribe. To all this we must still add the mingling of languages, when one tribe is brought into relation with a foreign tribe of different extraction, be it in the way of friendly commercial intercourse, or as dwellers in the land in the form of a subject

[1] W. von Humboldt, *Gesammelte Werke*, vi. 343. Compare above, § 264.

[2] The Delaware language, *e.g.*, connects together *ki*, thou, *wulit*, pretty, *wichgat*, paw, *schis*, little, into one word—*kuligatschis*, thy pretty little paw; *naten*, to fetch, *amochol*, boat, into *nadhol-ineen* — fetch us in boats; *nayundam*, to bear a burden, *awesis*, an animal — into *nanayung-es*, a beast of burden. Humboldt, *Werke*, vi. 323.

[3] Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London 1842.

[4] Tschudi, *die Kechuassprache*, i. 8. Comp. Rauch, *die Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 303.

race. Hence only positive proofs of tribal affinity, or at least historical evidence of close connection, and not merely absence of proof to the contrary, should be sought for from the languages.[1]

When now, by the application of the above-mentioned criteria, we investigate scientifically the primitive populations of America, we find that America was peopled by means of six successive immigrations. 1. The original stock of the population seems to have consisted of Malay tribes, together with Melanesians, who either were subject to them or had fled before them. These made their appearance in America about B.C. 1600 or 1400. From them are sprung the Araucanians, Patagonians, primitive Californians, the Kolushes of the Orinoco, and the primitive inhabitants of Peru, representing the Stone Period there, whose blood flows in the veins of many of the mixed tribes. 2. It may, perhaps, be considered doubtful whether Phœnician ships touched the coasts of America so early as B.C. 600; but it can be proved with certainty that about A.D. 600, North African pirates, the Berbers, were driven to Brazil, and that from them are sprung the Amaquas, Caribs, Charruas, etc. 3. From the Mongolian group of races, and especially from Japan, there came, at a somewhat earlier date, about A.D. 100, civilised tribes which took possession of Chiapa, or, indeed, generally of Central America, and founded in Bogota the two empires of the Muysca, and in Peru the ancient Peruvian empire. The Botocudos are some of those which broke off from the rest and

[1] Buschmann, "Spuren der aztek. Sprache," says at p. 39: "I would only undertake to explain the general type of this group of languages spread over a vast tract of the earth's surface, and broken up into a thousand forms. I have already by repeated endeavours sought to indicate the contents of such a problem; they embrace the infinite subdivisions, separations, alienations, and violent expulsions of the American races and the smallest groups of men, occasioned by natural circumstances, by prevalent customs, and modes of life, by the hatreds rankling in savage natures; and also, on the other hand, the most multifarious commingling through friendly relations, intentional and violent linguistic changes, and disfigurement, and finally, capricious linguistic contrivances."

took to the nomadic hunting life, and uncivilised customs of a degraded tribe. 4. Somewhat later, probably about A.D. 500, from China or its immediate neighbourhood, a troop rushed down through California upon Mexico, founded there the empire of the Toltecs, was driven southward about A.D. 1290 by new hordes of invaders, and founded the empire of the Incas in Peru. 5. The Tshukkhi tribes, driven away by the Mongols under Genghis Khan, fled about A.D. 1200 over Aleutia to North America, where they appeared as Tshitshimecs, and from these are descended also the Mandans, the Menomennecs, east of the Rocky Mountains, and the Californian Monas. Soon afterwards, about A.D. 1282, a Mongolian horde followed, made up of various constituents, outwardly tinged with Buddhism and Chinese civilisation, from China, which were then subject to the Mongols, a horde which, under the name of the Nahuatlan tribe, entered Mexico, then under the Aztecs. 6. Finno-Tartaric tribes came in the 13th century over Kamtschatka into the north, peopled Greenland, drove the Malayan Alligewi, and later also the Aztecs, southwards, and got mixed up with the original population belonging to the two principal races of the Redskins, the Delawares and the Mengwes.

Each of those six immigrations will now be carefully proved, and there will be added in respect of each of them a historical statement of the nature of their religious condition.

A.—Malayan-Polynesian Immigration, B.C. 1600–1400.

§ 280. *Evidence of this Immigration.*

A. It has been already shown in § 270 that the Malays were expert seamen, and undertook relatively long voyages, and that Polynesia was peopled by them. This makes it quite possible that the Malays should have reached America. A race which had spread itself over a space 2550 geographical miles long, from Madagascar to Hawaii, might also surely

travel thence to California, a distance of 600 miles, and, if not willingly, then all the more certainly if under constraint to do so. The North Pacific Ocean current runs from the Polynesian islands direct to North California, and in the Gulf of California there are continually seen the wreck of boats, stems of trees, and sea-weed, which have been driven from Polynesia to those coasts. On the other side, the South polar current in the South Pacific Ocean passes over toward Easter island and thence to Chili. Ships or boats which get into one of these two currents would inevitably be driven either to California or to Chili.

B. Now, as a matter of fact, Indian tribes are found in both of these countries which exhibit in a striking manner the Malayan-Polynesian type. Pickering[1] found in California, alongside of the group speaking the Sonora languages, which, as we have seen, are Mongolian tribes of a later immigration, tribes of darker complexion, whose build and cast of countenance were quite Polynesian. The same also is reported by Jaquinot.[2] From California these tribes spread themselves southwards along the coast. In Acapulco, on the south-west coast of Mexico, Chamberlain, a missionary in Hawaii, found aborigines whose Polynesian customs arrested his attention. Such, too, were the experiences of Captain Hall, Bory de St. Vincent, Ellis, and W. von Humboldt, all along the west coast.[3] The Indians of New Spain have the brown skin, the small hands, and slender build of the Polynesians. Malay servants, brought by Smith to New Jersey, were astonished at the appearance of the Indians there, and the Indians at theirs, because of their likeness to one another.[4] These extend down to Terra del Fuego.[5]

[1] Pickering, *The Races of Man*, pp. 100–108.

[2] Jaquinot, *Annuaire des voyages*, 1846, p. 179.

[3] Hall in Pickering, p. 113. Bory, *der Mensch*, Weimar 1827, p. 170. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. 121. A. von Humboldt, *Reisen in die Aequatorialgegenden*, part 2. Comp. Rauch, *Einheit des Menschg.* p. 349 f.

[4] Smith, *Essay*, p. 217. Assal, *Nachrichten über die früheren Einwanderung Nordamerika's*, p. 85.

[5] Lin. Martin, *Naturgeschichte des Menschen*, p. 343.

C. To the similarity of physical build must be added similarity of customs, and this proves that Malayan-Polynesian tribes gave their populations not only to the west coast, but also, pressed and driven by later incomers, or led by the love of wandering, they have made their way in North, as well as in South, America to the east coast. Decidedly Polynesian customs are found not merely on the west coasts of California down to the Araucanians and Patagonians, but also among the Natchez and Creeks, among the Iroquois and Dahcotahs or Sioux, and even the Kolushes of Norfolk Sound, as well as among several tribes on the Orinoco. The custom of shaving away their hair, with the exception of a single lock, is not decisive; it prevails in Polynesia, but, according to Herodotus, was met with among several of his Scythian tribes, which perhaps were identical with the Ugro-Tartars or Tungusic-Mongols, and is met with at the present time among Tartars and Kalmucks. More decisive are the painting of the body in gay colours, the piercing of the ear-flaps and hanging in them heavy ornaments. The Araucanians, along with many neighbouring tribes, wear wrapt about their head the Pontsho, which is exactly similar to the Tiputa of the Tahitians.[1] Both peoples have the same sort of armour; both, as well as the most of the Indian tribes of North America designated the Redskins, preserve the scalps of slaughtered foes as a sign of victory. As on many of the South Sea islands, it is customary among the Old Californian savages to cut off the little finger of a child in order to save one from a deadly sickness.[2] In the one race as well as in the other, and also among the Brazilian Tupis, corpses are buried in a sitting posture. In Durango in the north-east of Mexico, in 1818, a pit was uncovered, in the bottom of which over a thousand well-preserved Indian corpses were seated, with their hands placed upon their knees.[3] Sometimes they

[1] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. 182.

[2] Waitz, *Anthropologie*, iv. 250.

[3] Buschmann, "Spuren der aztek. Sprache," etc., p. 183. Canstatt, *Brasilien*, p. 80.

were put in a boat, and this then hung between two trees. At San Sacramento in New California, the women wear the *maro*, just as in Polynesia.[1] The Indians of Old California, when the country was first visited by Europeans, went naked, the men completely, the women with a girdle, just as in many Polynesian islands. Tattooing is not only generally a Polynesian custom, but also in Bodega Bay Vancouver found the women tattooed exactly in the same way as on the Sandwich islands. Among the Assiniboins, as also upon the Marquesas islands, there is found in front of every village a paved court for holding assemblies of the people.[2] In Upper California the women wear a needle in their hair as in the Fiji islands, and the feather head-dress like that of Hawaii. The Aztecs in Mexico were distinguished in the art of feather ornamentation, garments and carpets being made up of feathers, wrought in patterns and representing complete scenes. They seem, however, to have learnt this art from some tribe which they met with among the older inhabitants. Mummies have also been found in North America with such feather dresses, which could hardly have been of Aztec origin, but must rather have belonged to some Polynesian tribe, since that art of feather embroidery is native to Polynesia.[3] The artistic carvings of the Kolushes are also produced by the Polynesians. On the Orinoco the Indians shoot their poisoned darts through a long tube, just as the Malays of the Indian Archipelago do; by the Malays the tube is called *sarbacane*, by the Orinoco Indians it is called *sgaravatana*;[4] the *c* is turned into *t*, otherwise it is the same word. The Polynesians prepare from the *piper amethysticum* the intoxicating drink called *kava*, in preparing which old women chew the root of this plant, then spit it out, and cause an affusion to run over the matter expectorated while in a state of fermentation. In

[1] Smith, *Essay*, p. 238. Ellis, *Researches*, i. 178.
[2] Jaquinot, *Annuaire des voyages*, p. 182.
[3] Assal, *Nachrichten*, etc., pp. 65, 95.
[4] Bradford, *American Antiquities*, p. 416.

precisely the same way the Tupis prepare their *kaveng*, or *kavan*, or *kaönin* from soaked maize, which is chewed by old women. The Gês in Brazil prepare an intoxicating drink from the fruit of the Assai palm, and other South American Indians from soaked Cassada, chewed by old women.[1] Among the Dahcotahs, Iroquois, and Hurons, every family chooses an animal or a plant as an escutcheon or protection, and then he dare not kill or eat any of that species. This custom is also found in Australia, where the word *kobong* is used to indicate such an animal or plant.[2] The *taboo* of the Polynesians is also of a similar nature. The Melanesians, too, seem to have reached America either before the Polynesians or along with them as a subject race. The custom, prevalent among the Papuans, of knocking out an upper incisor tooth on reaching man's estate, was observed by Skyring among the Patagonian tribes, and the bodily build of the Pesherahs reminds one very strongly of that of the Papuans.

D. The tradition of the Malays of Tonga, that two daughters of the demi-god Langi, while their father attended an assembly of the gods, went, contrary to his orders, to the earth, and for this were condemned to death, is found, as has been already noticed by W. von Humboldt,[3] among the Tamanacs on the Orinoco. It there takes the form of a legend of Amalivaka, who breaks the feet of his travel-loving daughters in order to keep them at home.

E. It must now be quite evident that we assume not a single immigration, but several repeated immigrations of the

[1] Waitz, *Anthropologie*, iii. 423. Kotzebue, *Reisen*, ii. 42. *Globus*, vii. 204. Gerland, *das Aussterben der Naturvölker*, p. 42 ff. Canstatt, *Brasilien*, p. 81. Also at Chittagong, on the Burmese territories in Further India, E. Hildebrandt (*Reise um die Erde*, i. 115) found this custom, which also there was evidently of Malay origin. The drink is there called *tshitsha*, from the Jav. root *tshotshot*, mouth, to eat, to drink. The same word is found in Peru. See § 294. *Kava*, *kavan*, corresponds to the Polynesian root *kai*, *kain*, *ky* (*kanen*), to chew. This root, too, may possibly lie at the basis of the Jav. *tshotshot*.

[2] Prichard, *The Physical History of Mankind*, iv. 282.

[3] *Werke*, iv. 454.

Malayan-Polynesians, as well as Melanesians, into America, and also that we have by no means intended to describe the above-named American tribes as pure, unmixed Malays or Polynesians. Blendings of many a kind with Melanesians and with tribes of a different extraction, which in other ways came into America at a later period, have certainly taken place; yet this has happened in such a manner that the Malay-Polynesian customs continue in full force among the above-named tribes, so as to prove the predominance in them of Polynesian blood, and that, too, just where the physical appearance of the Polynesians is most perfectly preserved.

F. This Malay-Polynesian population, however, seems to have been the earliest population of America. The Malays moved on before the Mongolian races toward the south-east. We might suppose that at latest, about B.C. 2200, they peopled the Sunda islands; about B.C. 1800 they took possession of Polynesia; and between B.C. 1600 and B.C. 1400 they reached America. This conjecture commends itself as feasible, not only because the seafaring art and the spirit of enterprise among the Malayan-Polynesians failed at a later period,[1] and that the idea of separate boats being cast involuntarily upon the coast of America is not a probable theory, but also for several other reasons. First of all, the so-called cultured races of Japanese and Chinese extraction, which we have come to know in § 286–291, as a whole and separately, have the tradition that on their first arrival they found before them a wild, uncivilised population. And, in fact, the cultured period in Peru, under the old Peruvian empire of the Aymaras, was preceded by a Stone Age.[2] In the second place, the American language as a whole,—if we except from them those of

[1] This sinking continued in America. The Tupis or Tubinambas in Brazil in earlier times built ships which were able to carry as many as sixty men; now they only construct small canoes (Canstatt, *Brasilien*, p. 79).

[2] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, p. 26.

the cultured races, the Katshua language in Peru, some Central American languages, the Sonora-Nahuatlian group of languages, and the language of the Caddos, among which are found traces more or less of a finer construction,—viewed as a whole and separately in regard to their construction, belong to the class of agglutinate languages (§ 256, *Obs.* 1), and are indeed of the same rude order as is prevalent among the languages of the Malays and Polynesians. To seek after a similarity of vocabulary between these American and Malayan-Polynesian languages would be (§ 279) uninteresting and wearisome. The meanings of words among those wild races are constantly changing. Such changes occur first in their spelling, so that the same root changes its letters;[1] secondly, in the use of words, so that homonymous words are attached to their synonyms by way of explaining their meaning, and are often so fused together as to be unrecognisable till the ingredients of the word so formed are swallowed up and lost, and then a new compound vocable is produced. These languages are related to the languages of the cultured races of the Old World as the gravel, rubbish, and sand of the rivers are to the historical or crystallized rock of the mountains. Everything of the most diverse sort is there gathered together in a pounded condition. It is, however, all the more remarkable if amid such rubbish something of value may here and there be discovered. Thus Ellis found in the language of the Araucanians several New Zealand words.[2] The Portuguese found the world *anile* used for the indigo plant in South America; in Malayan *nil* means blue, derived

[1] The same is true of the superior Sonora group of languages. Dark is among the Comanches *tohop*, among the Wihinasht *tuhukwit*, among the Soshones *tuwit*, among the Sonoras, in the narrower sense, *tucu*, *tschoca;* white is among the Comanches *toshop*, *totshza*, among the Soshones *tushawi*, among the Sonoras *tosca*, *tosa*, *toa;* bear is in Com. *ochzo*, among the Coroados *oztet;* water is among Aztecs *a-tli*, Sonoras *ah-te*, Soshones *ookshe;* stone, Azt. *te-tl*, Sonor. *tim-ba*, *tupa;* dog, Azt. *tshitshi*, Sosh. *sogoöuk;* wind, Azt. *eca-tl*, Sonor. *heicava*, etc.

[2] Ellis, *Researches in Polynesia*, ii. 46.

from the Sanscrit *nîla*, dark-blue. It is also remarkable that the dual, which is found in Malacca, the Philippine islands, and New Holland, appears again among the Araucanians, in Peru, on the Orinoco, among the Totanacs of Vera Cruz, among the Cherokees, the Chaimas, and even as far as Greenland.[1] In like manner, the existence of a restricted and wider plural, signifying respectively some and many, in Tahiti, and then again among the Abipones in Paraguay, and the Mocobis in Chaco, is worthy of attention (see *Obs.*).

G. Finally, the Malay-Polynesian immigration to America is confirmed by the plants found in cultivation there. The yam is native to the Indian Archipelago, and grows there wild; in America it appears as a cultivated plant, reared by many of the Indian tribes.[2] Bradford makes the same remark in regard to the indigo and banana.[3] The same holds true in regard to the architectural remains. The pyramid temples of the Aztecs, the *teocalli* (see § 299), are well known. That the Aztecs were not of Malay origin is sure enough; yet it would appear that this style of architecture, as well as the art of feather embroidery, was learnt from a people of Polynesian descent, which they met with in America, probably in California. The very same sort of pyramids are found in the South Sea islands; in Tahiti and the Fiji islands, where they are called *morai* (see § 283), and then again also in America, in parts not under the dominion of the Aztecs (§ 283). These morais, again, are connected with the Indian pagoda style of temples. Also the mussel heaps, as remnants of meals that had been partaken of, are found in Australia, and in Terra del Fuego,

[1] W. von Humboldt, *Gesammelte Werke*, vi. 562 ff.

[2] De Candolle, *Géographie botanique raisonnée*, 1855, ii. 280.

[3] Bradford, *American Antiquities*, p. 416. The *Musa paradisiaca* and *sapientium* has, according to G. Brown, *vermisch. Schriften*, i. 302, and Grisebach, *Vegetation der Eade*, its home in the East Indies; but, on the discovery of America, it was found wild and half wild in Peru, Central America, and Mexico.

and in the interior of Brazil, and indeed in a great multitude of places.[1] Also the Polynesian art of constructing weapons from quartz and flint is met with in Brazil, where the Indians of the present day understand how, by means of plane-tree wood, sand, and water, to bore through the quartz and fit it to their purposes.[2] On Cuba, Columbus found orange trees growing wild. The home of the orange is Asia (Grisebach).

Obs.—Malay words are found in many American languages.

1. Among the Jumas, north of the river Gila in California. *Her-mai*, boy, Tagal. *aro*. *Hailpit*, child, Jav. *kulup*. *Ntaie*, mother, Maori and Tah. *matua*. *Homaie*, son, Maori and Tah. *tamaidi*, Haw. *kamalii*. *Sithl*, bone, Jav. *sikil*. *Weel*, foot, Maori *waë*. *Klup-wataie*, star, Bug. *witoeng*. *Tawawam*, earth, Mal. Jav. Malag. *tana*. *Huth-lja*, moon, Jav. *wulan*, Bug. *ulöng* (Haw. *la*, light, sun). *Oumút*, hut, Jav. *homah*. *Ahatlau-o*, sea, Mal. *luhut*, Jav. *lahut*. *Hashacut*, inland lake, Jav. *tasek*, Bug. *tasik*. *Weequateie*, mountain, Jav. *bukit*. *Owee*, stone, Tah. *ofai*. *Eesh*, tree, Malag. *hazo*. *Tasauo*, food, flesh, Malag. *tandzah*, to eat, Bug. *dshuca*, flesh. *Awocope*, hail, Haw. *pohacu*, stone. *Aa-wo*, fire, Mal. Jav. Bug. *api*, Tagal. *hapon*. *Aha*, water, Mal. *ajer*. *Otaique*, great, Mal. *gadang*. *Onocoque*, small, Maori *nohi-nohi*. *Halolk*, slight, Mal. *hakal*. *Huts-ele*, cold, Jav. *hatis*. *Ep-ele*, warm, Bug. *moböla*, Jav. *panas*. *Asce, husue*, to drink, Malag. *hisnan*. *Quer-quer*, to speak, Jav. *witscharo* (root KAR).

2. Among the adjoining Comaricopas the word *tschampapa*, four, is found quite peculiar to them, and corresponding to the Malay word *ampat*.

3. On the language of the Athabascan tribes, which appears in scattered groups from Hudson's Bay down to Mexico, see below at § 301, *Obs.*

4. Even in the Sonora languages, which belong to non-Malay tribes (§ 297, *Obs.*), we meet with several Malay words. For foot the Malay word is *kaki*, the Soshone and Wihinasht is *kuki*, that of the Comanches is *koegen*, of South Sonora is *goggui*, besides the genuinely Sonora words *rag* and *tala*. We have also: *teshcap*, flesh, Bug. *dshuca*; *tani*, to demand, to pray, Mal. *tana*, to ask; *tami*, we, Mal. *kami*; *pitschige*, to believe, Mal. *pertschja*; *hulidade*, skin, Mal. *kulit*; *otose*, to send, Mal. *hutus*; *dubur*, dust, Mal. *dabu*; *huri*, to live, Jav. *hurip*; *tapa*, to hew, Mal. *tebbang, teba, tappa*; *couyet*, tree, Mal. *kaja*; *agu*,

[1] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, p. 19. [2] *Ibid.* p. 18 f.

great, Mal. *agung; ica*, this, Mal. *iko, hika; ini*, that, Mal. *ini; harepo*, will, Jav. *harep; oma*, house, Mal. *homa; tzinna*, day, Jav. *dhina; tessek* (Eskimo), sea, Mal. *tasek; ach*, seed, Mal. *kako; ilhuica-tl* (*ilwica*), heaven, Mal. *langi; dse* (*ce*), ice, Mal. *tshes, hatis*, cold; *calli, cari*, house, Haw. *hale*, Maori *ware; caqui, cauque*, to hear, Tagal. *paguing; dse, se*, he, Mal. *se, sa, taha; eheka, eka, heka, uka*, wind, Mal. and Polyn. *angin, angi; mati*, to know, Pelew *madang; miqui*, to die, Polyn. *mate; baa*, water, Jav. *bangu*, Polyn. *wai*. *Qua*, to eat, may be compared with Polyn. *kai*.

5. In the Tsoneca language of the Tehuellches of Patagonia (G. Chaworth-Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians: A Year's Wanderings*, etc., London 1871), many words are found the same as in Malay. *Kaki*, wood, Mal. *cuju*, Tagal. *cahui; ketz*, good, Tagal. *igui*, Haw. *maikai; ham-mersh*, slight, Mal. *mara*, Tagal. *masama; ipors*, warm, Mal. *panas*, Bug. *mapöla*, Tagal. *mabanas; kekosh*, cold, Mal. *sejuk*, Bug. *ma-chökek; talenque*, small, Malag. *kelik; pash-lik*, hungry, Tah. Haw. *poia, pololi; tehonik*, men, Tong. *tangata*, Tagal. Bug. *tau; jank* (*yank*), father, Jav. *jaja, pak*, Bug. *am-bak; janna*, mother, Tagal. Bug. *ina*, Jav. *bi-jang; ihallum*, son, Jav. *kulup*, Malag. *calau* (daughter); *iten*, brother, Mal. Jav. *adik, hadi; koque-tra*, children, Jav. *katschung* (*kachung*), Mal. *kotto; tal*, tongue, Tagal. *dila*, Malag. *dela; tsiĉc-r*, hands, Mal. *tangan; shankence*, feet, Jav. *sucu; gegenko*, seed, Jav. *sren-genge; showan*, moon, Malag. *tsauon, sawa*, light; *aaskren*, star, Jav. *sasa*, Malag. *vasia; tsor*, year, Mal. *taun, tahun, taon*, Tong. *tow; lei*, water, Jav. Mal. *lahut, luut*, sea; *jaik*, fire, Polyn. *ahi, awahi; hoshen*, wind, Jav. Tagal. *hangin; pawal*, cloud, Tagal. *papajitin; paan*, smoke, Polyn. *po*, darkness; *quejomen*, night, Jav. *wengi*, Bug. *wöni; jipper*, flesh, Polyn. *kai, ai*, to eat, Haw. *io*, flesh; *tschoi*, cattle, Mal. *dshawi; gol*, puma, Haw. *holo*, animal; *oin*, fish, Mal. *ikan*, Jav. *hiwah*, Tah. Haw. *ia; tschorlo*, black, Jav. *tscheleng; golwin*, white, Jav. *pin-gal*, Haw. *keo; y-shengs*, to go, Mal. *song; amili*, to buy, Jav. Tagal. *bili; quewar*, to barter, Haw. *quæi*, Maori *oko*, Tong. *fuccu*, Jav. *tuku; i-muk*, to kill, Tagal. Tong. *mate; kinskot*, Jav. *handhika*. Among the numerals, *tshutshi*, one, corresponds to Jav. *sawitshi; winikusk*, six, Bug. *önöng*, is more doubtful. With *gualitshu*, evil spirit, we may compare the Malag. word *manguelo*, sickness; it may, however, be connected still more closely with the Haw. *wali*, to be alone, Tong. *wale*, frantic, Haw. *wale-wale*, to bring into danger.

6. The language of the Cotshimi, in the north of California, yields the following parallels: *tejueg*, one, Polyn. *tahi; goguo*, two, Polyn. *dua, ua; käna*, father, Haw. *kane*, man; *lahai*, father, Mal. Malag. *laki lahi*, husband; *ac*, father, Haw. *makua;*

nada, mother, Bug. *indok*, Tagal. *ina; wakoe, wuktu, wägin*, wife, Polyn. *wahine; jueta*, blood, Jav. *getih*, Maori *toto; aha*, mouth, Polyn. *waha; ajibika*, eye, Haw. *wak*, to see; *mimbanga*, name, Jav. *wewangi*, Polyn. *hingoa; cucuem*, to go, Pelew *kom; nagana*, hand, Mal. *tangan*, Tagal. *kamai; aji-huenen*, house, Tong. *abi*, dwelling, Mal. *homa*, house.

7. In the languages of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, the Tesuque, Zunni, etc., which are rich in Ugro-Tartar words, a remarkable number of Malay words are also found.

(*a*) Tesuque: *koo*, to eat, Polyn. *kai; ojez*, ear, Tong. *ongo*, to hear; *peu-ih-qwah*, dead, Tag. *pohe; paindih*, black, Polyn. *po*, night; *tairi*, evening, Mal. *suri; au*, foot, Tah. *avae*, Tong. *vae; eose*, God, Polyn. *etoa, atua; pih*, heart, Mal. Polyn. *poso, fo; piquai*, mountain, Mal. *bukit* (Zunni: *tai-poke*); *taik* (Zunni: *taiko-hanannai*), light, Bug. *tadshang*, day; *sae*, man, Mal. Tong. *tauo, tau; poje*, moon (Polyn. *po*, night, and Tesuque, *ahgo-jah*, star, *po-jah*, night star); *hiquia-eh*, small, Haw. *iki; hiih*, to speak, Haw. *hai, i; poh*, water, Tah. *pape* (Tesuque, *ogh*, water, Ugr. *oja*); *muaho*, wind, Haw. *makani*.

(*b*) Zunni: *klemkai-annai*, ice, Haw. *anu*, cold; *aina, iena*, dead, Bug. *unoi; tsanna*, small, Tong. *tschi; piji*, to speak, Bug. *pau; jai*, wife, Polyn. *wahine; quinna*, black, Bug. *wönni; waiquinne*, river, Haw. *kapu-wai; annanai*, heart, Polyn. *nanu*.

Among the numerals the following are Malayan: four, Tesuque *ionaüh*, Haw. *kauna*, Zunni *awite*, Tag. *apat*; five, Tesuque *panau*, Zunni *apte*, Tah. *pae*; seven, Tesuque *tschae*, Mal. *tudshu*; nine, Tesuque *kuaenou*, Polyn. *chiwa*. The rest are for the most part Ugro-Finnic: *e.g.* one, *guih*, Ugr. *akve*; two, *guihgeh*, Ugr. *kitä*; six, *sih*, Ugr. *seitse*; eight, *kuhbeh*, Ugr. *kahde*; ten, *taheh*, Ugr. *tiz*.

But above all things we must hold firmly by the possibility, yea, the probability, of Old Malay appellatives, which in the American languages have been changed absolutely, or to such a degree as to be unrecognisable, remaining unchanged, or with very little change, in the case of the proper names of the gods, which from the nature of things are more stable. Special attention will be given to this in the following sections.

§ 281. *Traces of Malay Religion in various Parts of America.*

As we have been able to gain some idea of the old primitive religion of the Malays, at least of the Polynesian Malays, it will be possible for us to recognise whatever traces there may be in the religions of the American races of a

Malay origin. This has, indeed, difficulties peculiarly its own. For as we find in the Indian Archipelago, and in Polynesia, and among the tribes generally that still remain unaffected by Buddhism, a state of matters that indicates only a deep decadence and deterioration from an earlier existing religion, the case in America is analogous with respect to certain tribes, of whom it must be concluded, from their bodily build and their customs, that there is a large proportion of Malay blood in their veins. If (§ 280) the erection of pyramidal mounds was a custom prevalent among the early Malay inhabitants of California, it follows that these people must have had a worship of God or the gods like to that of their progenitors, as seen among the Fijians and Tahitians of the present time. Venegas[1] found in Old California among the Indians two religious parties: adherents of Niparaja, whom he describes as God, and adherents of Wac-Tuparan, who was described to him as a giant and evil spirit. Niparaja seems to have had a resemblance to the Great Spirit of the Redskins. More than this cannot be said decidedly, least of all can it be definitely affirmed that the worship of Niparaja was of Malay origin. The name of Wac-Tuparan is connected in respect of its first portion with *wacan*, spirit, in the language of the Iroquois, and the *wahs* of the Dahcotahs, that is, with those redskin tribes whose customs, if not directly of Malay origin, show at least a strong mixture of Malay blood. Thus the word *wac, waca,* which at the same time reminds us of the Waka-akau-uli of the Tongan legend (§ 272), seems to have been an Old Malay appellative of God (see *Obs.* 1). The name Tuparan is certainly derived from a Malay source. The term used to designate the idea of God is in Malayan *tuhan*, in Javanese *tuwan.*[2] In confirmation of the Malay origin of the Californian Tuparan, where *ran* may be a nominative suffix or an agglutinate predicate, the following remarkable circum-

[1] Buschmann, *Völker und Sprachen Neu-Mexico's*, p. 463.

[2] W. von Humboldt, "Kawisprache," *Abh. d. Berl. Akad. d. W.* 1832, part 3, p. 243.

stance may be advanced. When we find among the tribes of the Tupaja Indians in Brazil, the god Tupan, in this form approaching still nearer to the Javanese Tuwan, we may assume for those Tupajas a Malay descent or mixture. Tupan is with them God absolutely, and is regarded indeed as invisible. It is he who thunders in the clouds, it is he who taught men agriculture, and who blesses their harvests.[1] But among those tribes both agriculture and the worship of Tupan have fallen into decay, and now lie quite in the background. For all practical purposes, evil spirits and the sorcerers defending from them with the marica-bottle play the most important part. Thus, then, in the Tupan of the Tupajas we find an indication that originally one God, an invisible being, had been worshipped by the Malay tribes of America. Among the Californians this Tuparan, in opposition to a god Niparaja, evidently imported at a later period, and from other, probably conquering, tribes, has assumed the place of the subordinate god of a subordinate race, and is regarded as an evil spirit, or has been described by the victorious strangers as a mean and evil god, a process to which we shall yet find parallels. Fear of evil spirits, however, is met with in all religions of the most diverse races that have fallen into deep decadence.

The Araucanians worship a thunder-god, Thalclave, whom they describe as a *pillan*, and indeed as *guenu-pillan*, a heavenly spirit, dwelling among or above the clouds, who has also placed under him another friendly *pillan*, Muelen.[2] Over against this good spirit stands Guencubu, heaven's *cubu*, an evil spirit, who is at the same time god of war and death, from whom all evil comes. He is, however, an oracle. His name has a connection with the *kopong*, *kubong* of the Hamitic races (§ 278); possibly he was the heavenly god of an enslaved Melanesian tribe, and was degraded by the victorious Malayan-Polynesians into an evil deity. Guencubu sometimes appears visibly in the form of a wild animal, and to

[1] Müller, *amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 252 ff. [2] *Ibid.* p. 271.

whomsoever he appears, that appearance indicates the approach of a violent death. Under him are other evil spirits: Kaagerre, Taguaiba, Temoli, Taubimana, Curupira, Marangigoana, Pictangua, Aucangua,[1] etc., evidently Melanesian deities. In the language of the Melanesians, which is closely related to that of the Kolhs, *marang* means great, while *angua* is similar to the Kolh word *ankoi*, brother.

The religion of the neighbouring Tsonecas or Tehuellches in Patagonia is similar to that described (§ 282). Among the Araucanians *gen* means a good, *malghen* or *walitshu, gualitshu*, an evil spirit (see § 280, *Obs.* sub. 5). These evil spirits are pacified by offerings. The Patagonians in the wider sense, including the Araucanians and the Penks, had witches of whom they were afraid, women that were in covenant with the evil spirits; they also believed in *Jvuncas*, that is, men who live by day in caves, but by night wander as birds of prey, something like the werewolf; and, finally, they believe in sorcerers, who compel the evil spirits to share their power with them, and who hold converse with them by means of the *marica* (*tamarica*), a magic flask made of gourd. By means of this flask the sorcerers are almighty, and can assume the form of animals, as in the werewolf legend.[2] It is also remarkable that among the Iroquois witches play an important part, and at the present time are put to death by burning.[3] On the other hand, the custom of the Patagonian sorcerers to secure a state of ecstasy by means of smoking tobacco is common to many and very diverse wild tribes of America.

The Araucanian tradition of the flood is of interest.[4] It speaks of a flood that covered the whole earth, and represents only a few men as being saved on a mountain with three peaks, which swam on the water, and is called "the flashing." The reminiscence of men saving themselves on some great

[1] Müller, *amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 274.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 275 ff. On the Caribbean origin of the *marica*, see below at § 285.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 79 f.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 267.

swimming article has been confounded with a reminiscence of the mountain on which this article landed; but the three peaks seem to point to the fact that three men were saved upon it; and this number of three reappears in most of the legends of the flood as indicating the number of the sons of the hero of the flood.

Finally, among many tribes of the Redskins, especially the Dahcotahs, Iroquois, and Hurons, under the name of *kobong*, we meet with the religious custom of the Malay *taboo* and the Melanesian *kubong* (§ 272).[1] If an animal or a species of plant is declared by a chief of a tribe and by any head of a family to be *kobong*, then such an animal may never be killed, such a plant may never be plucked, by those belonging to that tribe or to that family. It is indisputable that the practice, and the word which describes it, were introduced into America by the Melanesians, who settled there along with the Malay-Polynesians (comp. § 275). Among the Melanesians who migrated to South America, *cubu* was still used as a name of God; among those who migrated northwards, *kubong* had already been degraded to the meaning of *taboo*. The migration northward thus seems to have taken place at a later period.

Obs. 1.—In the Waka-akau-uli of the Tongan legend (§ 272), *waka* means ship, and the whole name means ship of the black wood. But if it be *à priori* improbable that a human individual should have been called ship, then this name will not be quite suitable for that form of the myth that answers to the story of Abel. We saw, § 274, that the legend of the ship of the black wood was not of genuinely Malayan, but of Cushite-Melanesian origin, and was connected with the hero of the flood, the Noah of the Bible. The transference of the Melanesian name of the hero of the flood to the Malayan-Polynesian Abel, and the consequent confounding of the two, is thus quite a later episode. It was precisely the name Waka that gave occasion to this confusion. From the divine appellative *wac, wakan, wah*, met with in various Malayan tribes of America, we may conclude that *waka* was a primitive Malay word for designating God or the demi-gods, legendary heroes receiving

[1] Prichard, *Physical History of Man*, iv. 282.

divine honours. *Wak* in Hawaiian means to see; God was designated as the seeing One, the gods were designed as those who see. Thus could *waka* be employed as a predicate of Abel, who bears, in the Tongan legend, the proper name of Akau, which is confirmed by § 287, sub. *c.* If, then, the Tonga islanders heard the Melanesian legend of a man who survived the flood in a ship of black tiril wood, and told this story in their own language to one another, the expression Waka-akau-uli would lead to a confusion regarding the men of the black-wood ship, the black-wood sailor, and to the identifying of him with the Waka Akau of their legend of Abel. Such combinations and confusions are indeed quite common in the traditions of the wild races.

In the name Wac Tuparan among the old Californians, we find that old appellative of God, *waka*, combined with the Javanese *tuwan*. It is possible that the earliest settlers had brought the word *waka* as a word and name for the one God from Hawaii, that this *wak* then gradually became, in consequence of a polytheistical development of religion, the proper name of the supreme God, and that later incomers added to it in apposition the appellative *tuwan;* Wac tupa-ran means Wac the God, or perhaps Wac the great God (*rai*, *rahi* means in Maori and Tahitian great). We meet with this name of God, Wak, in yet other American tribes, whose customs prove them to be of Malay blood. The Iroquois (Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 102 ff.) addresses Wakon as the supreme God (Wacon-da, Tongo Wakon, Uakon tongo). Some Iroquois tribes give Him the predicate Owaineo, Hawai-neo, Yawo-neo, Hauwe-negu, Howe-ne, which reminds us of the name of the island Hawaiia. The Iroquois also use the word *wac*, *wakan*, and the Dahcotahs the word *wah*, the *h* having the guttural sound, as an appellative for the gods, and generally for the world of spirits. The Great Spirit of the Leni-Lenape Indians rides on a bird, *Wakon* (Chateaubriand, i. 192); comp. with this *taroa mannu*, the bird spirit of the Tahitians (§ 272, *Obs.*). But, finally, we again meet with our appellative *waka* in Peru, the very place which we might expect to have been peopled first of all by a Malay immigration. During the period of the empire of the Incas there existed there, according to Müller (p. 370 f.), the word *guaca*, pronounced *waka*, which was employed, according to the testimony of Montesino, to designate the old discarded gods of the ancient Peruvian empire, as well as the gods of foreign races, in opposition to the gods of the Incas. The word was thus evidently an old appellative for the idea of God or of the gods, that had come into disrepute, and there is no improbability in the supposition that it had arisen at a time previous to that of the old Peruvian empire of the Aymaras,

that is, that it was introduced with the primitive settlement of the Malays. Thus, then, we find this word generally is in the most diverse part of America, from Brazil to Canada, from Peru to California, always in connection with manifest indications of Malay customs, religion, and extraction, and so its Malayo-Polynesian origin cannot well be doubted. At least this derivation from the Hawaiian *wak*, to see (Maori *wakka*, and Tong. *fækka*, to point out, make to see), is much more feasible than any derivation from the Ugro-Finnic thunder-god *Ukko*, whom we meet with again in America as *Okki* or *Hokkan*, or again a derivation from the Iranian *bâgâs*, which should rather be found identical with the *bogu*, guardian spirit of Sumatra.

Obs. 2.—Among the Tamanacs on the Orinoco, who, according to § 280, are a distinctly Malayan race, the following tradition is found. The first man was called Loguo; he was not created by any one: descending from heaven, he first of all created the earth, then the moon (Gen. i. 1, 2, 14 ff.), and next he brought forth men from his navel and thighs, the first of whom was *Rakumo*. For a long time he lived on earth, then he died, after three days he became alive again, and returned to heaven (Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 229). Rakumon was turned into a serpent with a human head, and he lived on a fruit tree, of the fruit of which it, as well as others, partook (De la Borde, *Recueil de divers voyages*, 1864, p. 385; Mejer, *mytholog. Taschenbuch*, 1813, 6). Rakumon was changed into a star, and becomes the god of rain and fruitfulness. Further, the Tamanacs must have been savages, for they lived only on fish: one of their sages, Longuo, who was the first man, addressed a prayer to heaven; thereupon a white man appeared who taught him to use pointed stones as axes, to build huts, to plant the *manioc* root, and from it to prepare bread. We do not attach the least importance to this tradition in so far as it concerns the creation and the fall. It is quite evident that the Tamanacs owe to an unsuccessful missionary attempt, or to occasional intercourse with Christians between A.D. 1500 and 1864, that knowledge of a creator appearing in Paradise in human form, the knowledge of the serpent, etc., which knowledge they have in the strongest manner thoroughly mixed up with pagan conceptions; —they have also a knowledge, confused indeed, of Christ's resurrection and ascension. The only important point is that they call the first man Loguo, Longuo. This name, like Racumo, that of the rain-god, belongs to the purely pagan element in this legendary conglomerate. *Loguo* cannot at all be derived from λόγος. Romish missionaries can scarcely be supposed to have preached to them of the λόγος under this Greek designation: they would rather say, God died. This last part of the legend, which is purely Tamanac, also shows

that in their national traditions the first man was actually called Loguo. But then in Malayan and Javanese, man, mankind, is *laki*. It is therefore similar to the Langi of the Tongan legend (§ 280), who also seems to have been a sort of first man, his story recurring also among the Tamanacs (§ 280).

§ 282. *The Religion of the Tsonecas.*

The Tsonecas[1] or Tehuellches, who inhabit Patagonia from the Rio Negro down to the southern point of America, now numbering on 1500 individuals, are distinguished from their northern neighbours, the Araucanians, living in the south of Chili, and Pampas Indians or Penks, who have a similar origin, by a more stately development, darker colour of skin, and a costume more nearly approaching nakedness, painting of the body, and tattooing of the arms. The Tsonecas wear a hip-cloth, *tshikipa*; and, notwithstanding the raw climate of their country, only a cloak of guanaco skins protects them from the cold, and even this is often thrown aside. These differences, as well as their residence on the southern corner of the American continent, their good nature and their peaceable disposition, and their language (§ 280, *Obs.* sub. 5), lead us to recognise in the Tsonecas a purely Malay race, which has been driven so far into the cold south by warlike tribes pursuing them. The inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, again, are nothing else than a Tsoneca tribe[2] driven farther south, and deteriorating under a frigid climate. They also maintain intimate relations with the Tsonecas of the mainland. They have been, however, mixed up with a Melanesian tribe, which either had migrated along with the Malays, or more probably had been settled in America before them, having been previously by the Malays driven out of Polynesia, and having crossed over by the way of the Gallopagos islands; they were

[1] As the Malay *t* in the Tsonecan language is frequently changed into *ts*, no other root could lie at the basis of the name Tsoneca than the Polynesian *tane*, man.

[2] Berghaus, *allg. L. und B. K.* vi. p. 241.

then driven to the southernmost point, and made their appearance there under the name of the Pesherähs. Valuable information regarding the present condition of the Tsonecas has been given by Chaworth-Musters.[1] This naval officer, who lived for a whole year among the Tehuellches in Indian dress, and had intercourse with all their chiefs and through all their tribes, did not hear them use any personal name of a God. They speak only of evil spirits, *gualitshus;* and on inquiry he learnt that a Great Spirit also existed, who is good, but does not much trouble himself with men. And so men do not trouble themselves much about him, but only about the evil spirits, the *gualitshus.* In the case of a dangerous sickness a sham fight by night, with shooting and rattling of arms, is engaged upon.[2] Every disease has its own special *gualitshu.* Other evil spirits haunt the woods, rivers, rocks, and must be conciliated, if one is to approach the place, by greeting and adoration. At every birth, at every important event, whether good or evil, animals, now horses, which, however, were first introduced into the country by the Spaniards, or human blood in the form of venesection or scratching, are offered in sacrifice. To the sorcerer the *gualitshus* show themselves in the form of animals,—guanacos, pumas, ostriches, vultures, etc. He endeavours to draw off the evil spirit from the sick person by shrieks, sucking, and other charms. On the graves of the dead heaps of stones are raised. Among the 1500 Tsonecas that survive of the peopling of Patagonia, and are decimated more and more by civil contentions and foreign wars and by small-pox, drunkenness and gambling are prevalent. In regard to their sexual relations there is little to complain of. They practise monogamy, cases of bigamy are very rare, and they marry only for choice, and show true conjugal and filial affection. When the wife dies, the husband burns all that belonged to her. Their chiefs are called *gaunoks,* and are addressed as *yank,* father. They have no idol images. Legendary poems and prayers, which till lately were known to

[1] Chaworth-Musters, *Among the Patagonians.* [2] *Ibid.*

some old men, are now quite forgotten, although the race has lived free and independent, and has not had its paganism disturbed. At an earlier period, however, when Magelhaens first discovered Patagonia, he found there still the name of a supreme god, Settaboh,[1] employed, probably the Polynesian *hotooa*, god, or *buan*, which in Tagal means moon; for the Tsonecas still greet the new moon,[2] which implies an earlier worship of the moon. Magelhaens' immediate successors[3] told their story more in detail: the Patagonians worshipped a supreme, good, and invisible god, whom they called Taquitshen or Soitshu, and set over against him an evil god, Guuracunni; *taquitshen* means ruler of the race, *guura-cunni* means lord of death. It is questionable, however, whether in this report the Araucanians have not been confounded with the Tsonecas. The fact is, that the barren knowledge of the existence of a Great Spirit has continued among the Tsonecas down to the present time, but just in the same way as belief in witchcraft. The one legendary element which Chaworth-Musters[4] found among them was the story that the Great Spirit in the caves made the beasts, and from a hill, which is still pointed out as the hill of God, sent them abroad over the earth. This connection of caves with the divine myth, and also the worship of the moon, are fragmentary elements, which remind us of the religion of the Tagals (§ 272).

§ 283. *The Religions of the Aruacas and Tamanacs.*

A thoroughly faithful copy of the Tagalese religion is preserved among the Aruacas, called by the Spaniard Guatiaos, the inhabitants of the Antilles, who, on account of their friendly, gentle character, as well as on account of the stage of their civilisation when Columbus went among them, forcibly enough

[1] Shakespeare refers to him in the *Tempest* under the name Satebos. Act I. Scene 2.

[2] Chaworth-Musters, *Among the Patagonians.*

[3] See in Müller, *amerikanischen Urreligionen*, pp. 261, 264 f.

[4] Chaworth-Musters, *Among the Patagonians.*

remind us of the Polynesians. Going about quite naked or almost so, and painting their bodies, they had yet a singularly complicated feudal constitution, quite after the style of that of the Polynesians. The island of Hayti, *e.g.*, was divided into five States, under whose five absolute monarchs again the Casignes had the position of vassals. The ground was the property of the State, and was allocated. They had substantial fixed dwellings, practised agriculture, baked bread, wove cotton garments. They sang heroic and legendary ballads, *areitas*,[1] and had in Charagua (Xaragua) an ancient dialect as a sacred language, and a monument found on Hayti gives evidence of a higher form of civilisation existing there at an earlier period.[2] This monument consists of a circle of large round hewn stones, 2270 feet in circumference, in the centre one rude stone figure almost six feet high. They themselves affirm that they came from Florida.[3] Along the river course of the Mississippi and in Ohio there are now to be seen about 5000 old ruined villages, many surrounded with walls of earth or stone, in them the circular or square inclosures of sacred places, finally, artificial mounds with terraced slopes, like the *morais* of the Polynesians, some of them ninety feet high, often containing urns with ashes, often bones, and all that had constituted the residence of the deceased (hearthstone, etc.). The urns with ashes we shall not be able to trace back to any Malay race. A people of a different extraction must have mingled with the Malays in the Mississippi valley (§ 293). The tombs in terraced mounds, however, with bones and house gear, are thoroughly Malayan. Those mounds are particularly numerous to the south of the Gulf of Mexico. They contain some articles of silver, stone axes, unwrought potter's ore, ornaments of shells and copper, neatly-shaped clay vessels, and clay pipes

[1] By this one is naturally reminded of the Tahitian and Maori *parau*, Jav. *wara*, Malag. *zara*, *tatera*, to say, to speak.

[2] *Ausland*, 1851, No. 172.

[3] Alex. von Humboldt, *Reisen*, v. 27.

in imitation of the heads of animals, but made without the help of the potter's wheel.[1] Thus, then, it is clear that before the rude hunting nomads, the Redskins, a settled, half-civilised people had inhabited the Mississippi valley, who were then driven southward by an invasion of the Redskins. On some of those circumvallations old trees of eight hundred annual rings have been found.[2]

The Californian Indians have a tradition that their forefathers on their arrival found before them in California a great city;[3] and that there, in fact, a Malay race must have been settled, from whom the Aztecs, when they came in among them, learned the art of feather embroidery and of building the Teocalli or pyramid temples, has already been shown (§ 280). But now also the Redskins of the Mississippi and Ohio know of a cultured race that preceded them, to whom they give the name Alligévi;[4] and the Iroquois know about a hundred years' conflict between this race and their forefathers. In like manner, the Comanches in Texas tell of a white or light-coloured people who inhabited the country before them.[5] We can thus picture to ourselves how through the Malays, who were reduced to slavery by the Redskins, and their women taken as wives, such elements of Malay customs and language would pass over among the Redskins, as we actually do find, according to § 280, among the Dahcotahs, Iroquois, and Hurons. From California the primitive Malay population had spread over the Mississippi and Ohio districts.

[1] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, p. 21 f.

[2] Harrison in the *Transactions of the Hist. and Phil. Soc. of Ohio*, vol. i. 1839.

[3] *Allg. Augs. Ztg.* 1850, 14th March. If the stones of the ancients about the island Atlantis are to be applied to America (see § 284), the Phœnicians had founded a great empire, about B.C. 600, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Mexico. (Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 25: θαυμαστὴ δύναμις βασιλέων.)

[4] *Verhandl. d. nordam. gel. Gesellschaft v. Philadelphia*, i. p. 29 ff. *Ausland*, 1829, p. 141; 1848, p. 175. Prichard, iv. 402 ff. The name Alligévi resembles Tag. *lalaqui*, Jav. *laki*, man. Aruaca may be a corruption of Alligéva, *l* changed to *r*, and a metathesis of the *v* or *u*.

[5] Buschmann, "Spuren," etc., p. 382.

Many centuries later they were attacked by the invading Redskins, in some parts reduced to slavery, in other parts exterminated, in other cases driven, doubtless already made savage by the experiences of the hundred years' war, to Florida, and finally to the Antilles. Here they continued to show themselves pure Malays in respect of constitution, customs, and religion. Like the Tagals (§ 272), they had[1] in place of a temple, sacred caves. Like the Tagals, they had images of the gods, had a multitude of guardian spirits and the images of these, and counted among such the spirits of the departed. Like the Tagals also, they had evil spirits, and some are specially mentioned, to whom they ascribed the form of a dragon, which reminds us of the alligator-worship of the Tagals. The common word for everything superhuman was *dseme* (Spanish, in plural *zemes, cemes*), which perhaps comes from the Malay root *dse*, to see (Mal. *dseling*, Jav. *sawang*, Malag. *zara*), just as *waka* (§ 281, *Obs.* 1) comes from the synonymous *wak*, to see.

Pillars were dedicated to the sun-god with the emblem of the sun, and in front of them altars were erected. In Hayti there was a cave called Chuanaboina pointed out, from which the sun and moon had come forth to give increase to the world in plants and animals. In this cave, too, were set up the images of the divine pair; they called them Binthaihell and Maro. The identity of the name Maro with the Maori and Tahitian *marama*, the moon, is indisputable. In like manner, the first two syllables of the name Binthaihell are the Malay *bintang*, Tagal *bitoin*, star, firmament; while hell is probably the Tongan *vela*, Hawaiian *wela*, hot, heat. Besides these two genuinely Malay names, we meet with on the Antilles the names of Tonatiks and Tona also for this divine pair. A derivation of these from Malay roots would not be absolutely impossible.[2] Since, however,

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 169 ff.

[2] In Florida the birds, which were regarded as messengers of the gods, were called *ton-azuli*. This *ton* might be the Malay appellative for God,

Tonatiuh is found in Mexico and Central America as a name of the sun-god decidedly belonging to the Sonora group of languages, coming from the Sonor. Aztec *tona*, heat, and *teo*, *tiu*, god, comp. § 298 and § 299, *Obs.*, it is the simplest and most natural conclusion to suppose that the names Tonatiks and Tona had been imported to the Antilles from Central America, and that at a comparatively recent period, probably not long before the arrival of Columbus.

The tradition of the Aruacas tells how Binthaihell and Maro, sun and moon, had first shone out upon the island of Hayti from that cave; then through an opening in the roof of the cave they ascended to heaven to lighten and rule the whole world, but sent to Hayti as their representative Chocauna and Chemao. In *cho*, *che*, there appears a root which seems to mean great; *cauna* may correspond to the Malay *hantu*, Haw. *uhane*, spirit; and *mao* is the Malay *ma*, *mâ*, mother. That Chocauna is the Great Spirit is all the more certain, because, (1) the moon-goddess was described by the Aruacas to the Spaniards as the mother of the Great Spirit, and (2) Chocauna was described as the invisible, immortal, almighty ruler of all *dsemes*, who is, nevertheless, no longer an object of worship. Thus we have here, in an American race closely related to the Tagals, the remnants of a religion which reaches farther up than the religion of the Tagals itself. We have a close indication of the worship originally among the Malays of a supreme invisible god, but he is degraded from the rank of creator of the world and ruler of the gods into a son of the sun-god and moon-goddess. But considerable uncertainty prevails in reference to this degradation. That great mother Chemao was sometimes described by the Aruacas as the earth-goddess, sometimes again she was identified with the moon-goddess Maro or Tona

tuwan. Thus in any case Tonatiu may be explained from *tuwan-matua* (for Polynesian *matua*, father), and Tona from *tuwan-na* (from Tagal. and Bug. *ina*, mother).

herself, and represented as the mother of Chocauna, not as his wife,—a sign that Chocauna cannot be confidently pronounced to be a married god. Arnold in 1663 tells that Chocauna had the cognomen Wamoanocan, and his mother the cognomens Wakaropi, Tamiellam, Wimazoam, Attab, and Eucham. According to other reports, Wamoanocan was a cognomen of Chemao, and that besides she was called Mamona and Attabára. In Wakaropi we have again our divine appellative of *waka* (§ 281, *Obs.* 1), together with *ropi*, which seems to be identical with the Tagal *lopa*, earth; so that Wakaropi will mean the earth-goddess. In Tamiellam there is the Tagal *tammi*, father, mother, and for *ellam* perhaps the Polynesian *wulan, ulöng*, moon (comp. on Binthaihell and *wela*): thus Tamiellam would be the mother moon. In Wamoanocan, *womoa* reminds us of the Tong. *omea*, Haw. *honua*, earth; *ocan* reminds us of Haw. *haku*, lord.

The Aruacas' tradition of the creation deserves indeed to rank only as a fable (see *Obs.*). The legend of the flood, too, has assumed a fabulous form (see *Obs.*), but yet shows that this people had a tradition about the whole earth having been covered by a flood. The priests of the Aruacas are called *bohitos*, while among the Battas in Sumatra *bogu* means a guardian spirit.[1] The *bohitos* formed a special caste, lived in solitude on the receipt of the offerings in the form of cakes, took them and presented them to the *dsemes*, whereupon pieces of the cake offerings were distributed among the heads of families as charms. They had no yearly festivals. Along with their supreme god they ranked a multitude of guardian spirits. On Hayti there stood three sacred stones, stone pillars, which formed the image and residence of the three highest guardian spirits: the guardian spirit of the earth (the land, that is, the island of Hayti), the guardian spirit of births, and

[1] Perhaps a Melanesian, therefore a Hamitic word (comp. the *bongas* of the Kolhs, the *kopang* of the Odshi negroes), or more probably a primitive root common to the Japhetic and Hamitic languages, which recurs in the Iranian *bâga*.

the spirit of rain and sunshine.[1] Also on Lüzon (§ 272) stone pillars were found, which, as we saw, were rather of Melanesian than of Malay origin. There is nothing to prevent the supposition that the Malays passing over into America had been mixed up with Melanesians. The primitive Melanesian population of Polynesia must either have been driven out before the Malays, as certainly happened to those who migrated to South America over the Tortoise islands, or they were subjected by the Malays and attached to them as slaves.

Each tribe, each family, each individual had its own particular *dseme* as a guardian spirit. They had images of them of wood, fish-bone, stone, in human form and animal form, sometimes ornamented with precious stones, and these they placed in their houses. On Hayti the Spanish priests destroyed 170,000 of such images. The island Guanabba was inhabited exclusively by manufacturers of these images. Each chief had a cave temple for the guardian deity of his country and for his image. The cave temple Chuanaboina, 150 feet deep, contained, besides the images of Binthaihell and Maro standing at the entrance, a thousand other idols hewn in the rock. The superior chief ordained a feast, when it pleased him, when the *bohitos* arranged in front of the cave received the offerings of cakes, and distributed the portions, whereupon the whole multitude rushed at the sound of a drum into the temple, and went one after another before the chief idol, and excited vomiting by means of a little wand thrust down the throat. After each has presented his own separate offering, the women with little bells on their arms and legs perform a dance. Heroic songs and songs of praise are sung, and the protection of the *dsemes* is invoked.

There are also evil spirits which show themselves by night as ghosts. Among them was a Korotschot, an Epileguanita,[2]

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 175.

[2] Perhaps from Mal. Jav. Bug. *api*, fire, and *legua*, the Indian word *leguan*. Therefore fire-dragon.

and a Tuira, represented as a dragon-shaped, horned monster with open mouth. On the mentioning of Korotschot one involuntarily thinks of the Indian serpent king Karkôtaka who may quite likely be of Malay or Cushite origin.[1] The spirits of the dead, too, are regarded as *dsemes*, good and bad. The latter, however, only appeared at a recent period, since the Aruacas in Hayti had rather the belief that the souls of the dead lived a serene life on the west side of the island in caves and ate the fruit of the Mamei plant. The custom of putting into the grave with the dead, bread and a calabash of water implies a notion that the future life was a continuation of the present, and not the belief in a change into evil spirits.

We must also mention the legend that one of their kings in the olden times after a five days' fast obtained a revelation from the *dsemes* that the Maguacotshen, a foreign, bearded, clothed race should come and overrun the island with rare weapons and overthrow their religion. This tradition was contained in old poems, and has therefore not been produced *ex eventu*.[2]

We have now recovered all the essential features of the Tagalese religion from that of the Aruacas, with the exception of the rainbow-god. We meet with him, however, on the Orinoco, where the Tamanacs (§ 280), a Malay race, had made a settlement. From these, too, the non-Malay Caribs (§ 281, *Obs.* 2) borrowed the name of their demi-god Langi. These Orinoco Indians, undoubtedly the Tamanacs, worshipped a god of the rainbow,[3] whom they called Chuluka, Spanish Juluca.[4]

[1] According to Sepp (*Mythol.* ii. 155), a serpent-god, Wodu, was also worshipped on Hayti. But since he indicates no sources, it remains doubtful. The Mayas in Tshyapa worshipped a similar shaped god, Wotan.

[2] Acquaintance with the Norman colonists in Massachusetts from A.D. 863–1347 may be resumed on behalf of the Aruacas (§ 301, *Obs.* 3) while they lived on the Mississippi, and have given occasion to this legend.

[3] See in Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 225. Müller calls all the 500 Orinoco tribes, without more ado, Caribs. He also makes Amaliwaka (§ 280) a Caribbean hero. Compare, on the other hand, W. von Humboldt, part 4, 454 f. In the name Amaliwaka we meet again with the divine appellative *waka*. *Amali*, perhaps, may be explained by the Tag. *malaqui*, great, Bug. *malic*, good.

[4] Perhaps from Mal. *suluh*, Jav. *tshulu*, light, torch.

He is a mighty giant spirit, who stretches over land and sea, his head and brow adorned with a band and gay feathers: now, feather ornamentation and feather trimming are Malay arts (§ 280). When he appears to the east, over the sea, it betokens fortune; but if westward, over the land, misfortune. When the Tamanacs once brought him too few offerings, he destroyed them by a flood, saving only a single pair. He is a good spirit, but no longer troubles himself about the government of the world and man, and it is therefore not necessary to worship him.[1] Here we have the universally recurring characteristic of the one invisible, that he no longer troubles himself about man! From that flood a man and a woman are saved on the peak of the mountain Tamanacu: they cast behind them the fruit of the Mauritius palm, and from their seeds men and women sprang up.[2]

A tradition of the fall has also been preserved among the Tamanacs. The god Amaliwaka, the great god, came to the first parent of the Tamanacs, and before he would let them again into his boat, said to them: Ye shall change your skin, that is, ye shall rejuvenate yourselves like the serpent, and not die. But when the old woman believed not the promise, he recalled it, and so the Tamanacs now are mortal.[3] Amaliwaka, as is self-evident, is only an epithet of Chuluka. The Tamanacs give him a brother, Wossi, Span. Vocci, who helped him to create the Orinoco. They worship also a sea-god Kurumon, a creator of woman Kuliminia, and an evil thunder-god Kualina, or Kouotlua, evidently from a root *ku*, to make. All the other gods run before Kualina, and this is the explanation of the trembling noise of the thunder. On the Loguo

[1] De la Borde, 384. Picard, 135, etc., in Müller, *Urreligionen.*

[2] Alex. von Humboldt, *Reise*, p. 35 ff. The egg-shaped fruit of the *Mauritia vinifera* is, perhaps, nothing else than an emblem of the *testiculi*. Similarly in many non-Indo-Germanic dialects of Further India the word *pisang* of Malay origin means the penis. Whether this name is given to the banana fruit because of its resemblance to the human organ, or was transferred from the former to the latter, cannot be decisively determined.

[3] *Aufsätze zur Kunde ungebildeter Völker*, Weimar 1789, p. 151.

legend, see § 281, *Obs.* 2. Their gods collectively they call *tschemun.* This is the same word with the *dscme* of the Aruacas.

Obs.—The tradition of the creation among the Aruacas is as follows: Large men issued forth from a great cave, Kazibachagua (comp. Jav. *betshik*, good), and little men from a small, Amachauna (comp. Maori *kino*, slight, small, Tong. *covi*). A giant, Machakæl, was to watch the cave, but one night removed away too far from it; the rising sun by an angry glance transformed him into the rock Kauta. Now, men left the cave at night to fish; some who made themselves late in the morning were changed by the sun into stones, plants, animals. Waguoniona was ruler of the cave men. When his friend was changed into a nightingale in his grave, he left the cave with wife and children, and all of them were metamorphosed, the children into frogs, which now called after their mother *Toa! toa!* (the Polynesian *matua*, mother). The other cave-dwellers cautiously accustomed themselves to the sunlight; but they were all men. Then the ants changed themselves into maidens, and became their wives. This tradition is a fabulous reconstruction of the old Malay legend of the going forth of the stars and animals from caves. An ancient troglodyte life among the Malay tribes may have given occasion to the origin of this legend and the whole mode of its presentation.

The tradition of the flood among the Aruacas is as follows: The mighty chief Chaya had an only son who rebelled against him. He slew him, and preserved his bones in a gourd box. These were changed into fishes. Now Chaya boasted that he held the sea shut up in his gourd box. His four inquisitive brothers opened the box, but let it fall, terrified by his coming in upon them. It broke, there burst forth therefrom a flood, which covered the whole earth, so that only the peaks of the highest mountains remained visible.

B.—Immigrations from Africa from B.C. 600 till A.D. 600.

§ 284. *Indications of African Immigrations at various Times.*

South America is distant from Africa about 1400 miles, and if an African ship were caught in the equatorial current[1]

[1] This current, running at the rate of 50 miles in 24 hours, passes from the north-west coast of Africa to the north-east corner of Brazil,

it would be inevitably driven over to the coast of Brazil. Indeed, Brazil was discovered by Cabral when he was thus driven thither. In the year 1797 twelve negroes escaped from a slave ship to the African coast, took a boat, and in five weeks reached Barbadoes. Similar cases are on record.[1] The possibility of Africans thus reaching America cannot be denied.

A. As a matter of fact, alongside of bright-coloured Indian tribes there are found, in America, and especially in South America, some of a quite or almost quite black colour and a negro build of body. To this class belong Amaguas on the river Amazon, the Charruas, and then the Caribs, who, if not quite black, are yet of a decidedly dark colour; and also in North America there have been observed by Rollin, Prichard, and others, among the scattered tribes, even up to California, that those of a darker complexion had those peculiarities of physical organization[2] which at least point to an admixture of negro blood. Cultivated plants, too, have been transferred along with man. In the opinion of De Candolle,[3] the yam root has been imported into America from Africa.

B. That conjecture, moreover, receives confirmation when we are able to point to distinct traces of specifically African customs and religion. Of the traces of African religions in America we shall speak in the next section. When, now, we seek in the east of South America for traces of African customs, we meet with those enormous conical clay vessels of several Brazilian tribes in which they place their dead for burial in a sitting, almost erect posture. In quite a similar way the Congo negroes bury and construct the graves of their chiefs in

thence through the Caribbean Sea into the Gulf of Mexico, and then, as the Gulf Stream passes down along the North American coast, a counter current goes off from the eastern point of Brazil southwards along the coast.

[1] Bradford, *American Antiquities*, p. 235. Latham, *Man and his Migrations*, p. 131, in Rauch, *Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 374.

[2] See Rauch, *Einheit des Menschenges.* p. 277 f.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 355.

the earth, conically shaped with the depth in the breadth, and in the very same posture they place the bodies.[1] Since the Congo negroes do not belong to the proper negroes, but to the Kaffirs (§ 276), we need not be surprised to find that the black tribes of Brazil have smooth hair.

The tribes of Libyan descent on the north and north-west coasts of Africa were, in ancient times, bold seamen, traders, and pirates, and during the course of centuries they have developed more and more in the latter directions. Like them in their powerful athletic physical form, in the dark colour of their skin and their straight hair, and also in their national character, are the Caribs, who at the time of the discovery of America were settled on the north coast of South America from the mouth of the Orinoco on to Darien and Nicaragua. Here they had driven back a cultivated race, and here as *balove bonon*, dwellers on the mainland, they bore the name of Carinas, Guarinis, Kalinas, Galibis. They were also found on the islands of Guadeloupe, Trinidad, etc., where, as *ubao bonon*, dwellers on islands, they were called Caribas or Canibas. They had then begun to gain the mastery over the Aruacas of the Antilles. The wives of the slain Aruacas they took to themselves as wives. These continued to speak their own language among the Caribs, and also brought with them their *dseme* images. If this was a general practice among the Caribs to exercise such patience toward the wives of their subjected foes in the use of their own language and religion, proceeding, doubtless, from a superstitious fear of their gods, then it must appear quite conceivable that many a foreign element would find its way into the religion and customs of these Caribs alongside of those that were purely African. Their own distinctive character was quite that of a pirate race. They had well-built ships, forty feet long, with two or three masts, eight or nine seats for rowers, and a helm, which a steersman guided. They had fleets of from thirty to forty such vessels. They observed the course of the stars, and reckoned their time

[1] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, p. 80.

accordingly. The trade which they carried on all along from Guiana down to the river Amazon (for scattered Carib tribes are found down on the coasts of Brazil), and piracy, were their almost exclusive means of livelihood; and in this consists the most characteristic distinction between them and the Malays. They would have nothing to do with agricultural pursuits. They lived on game, fish, crabs, and eggs. The women planted some *manioc* in gardens round about their huts. A strip of cloth round their thighs was their only covering. While their aversion to agriculture is distinctly non-Malayan, it is a thoroughly African characteristic that they had slavery as an institution and a slave-trade, yea, even sold children of their tribes as slaves to foreigners. To the Spaniards they appeared as the most savage of the savages. They were also cannibals. Indeed, the name cannibal seems to be derived from their name Caniba. They even deliberately fattened the boys of their captive enemies before eating them. They were particularly dangerous on account of their crafty surprises and their poisoned darts. And yet their condition presupposes a higher culture at an earlier time. Their skill as shipwrights has been already referred to. Their women, too, could weave cloth for those hip-bands seven feet long, and clay vessels were manufactured capable of containing up to twenty gallons.[1] Such arts could not have been developed as isolated phenomena among a race in a condition of bestial rudeness. Their condition as a whole must at some time have been quite different. These arts might, however, be continued as practically useful among a people that had sunk from a relatively cultured condition to one of general savagery. There are also found among the Caribs traces and remains of an ancient picture writing or hieroglyphic painting. Their constitution, too, shows indications of an older settled condition. All their

[1] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, p. 24. It could not have been Aruaca women seized by them who brought with them those arts, for they are not found among the Aruacas. They were therefore arts originally belonging to the Caribbean women.

tribes formed a great war confederacy, and lived in the most carefully observed terms of peace with one another, whereas they took advantage of their widespread intercourse by sea with foreigners for piratical attacks and regularly planned robber raids. Now we have in fact at hand a proof that at a very early period they had entered America. While they themselves did not in the least degree possess metal tools, and understood nothing of smelting and smith-work, they nevertheless possessed ornaments or models, called *karakoli*, which were made of a non-corrosive metal composition[1] and were extraordinarily bright, and the remnants of the tribe possess these down to the present day. We shall hear in § 290 of the immense ruins of Pallenque in Chiapa, and others in Central America, which tell us of the existence of an old Central American cultured race, which disappeared at the latest in the 12th century after Christ. The most of the figures on the bass-reliefs of Pallenque have their heads adorned just with those very kinds of ornaments. These *karakoli*, therefore, must have come to the Caribs from that people in the way of trade.[2] This assumes the existence of the Caribs in America before the 12th century, and to have had at that earlier period a more peaceable and more civilised character.

Certain discoveries that have been made in America[3] lead to the conclusion that at a period long before Carthage itself, or the Punic worship of Moloch and Astarte had existed, bold Phœnician or Punic sailors had reached America. In Mexico Uhde found a vase and brought it to Europe. It is quite like the Etruscan vases, and is ornamented with

[1] It consists of six parts of silver, one part of gold, and three parts of copper (Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*). In the Gâ language of the Gold Coast, the coloured stones, which are worn as ornaments and valued as highly as gold, are called *koli* (J. Zimmermann, *Vocabulary of the Akra or Gâ Language*, Stuttg. 1858, p. 157).

[2] The hatchets of the Aruacas, made of nephrite found only on the banks of the Amazon, which could only have been brought to the Antilles in the way of trade, afford a further evidence of their commercial pursuits.

[3] See in Rauch, *Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes*, p. 474 ff.

figures, which resemble the images of the Roman deities. In Oasha terra-cotta busts with a Greek form of head and helmet were found.[1] Such articles could clearly have been brought to America only by the Phœnicians, and this race must have had colonies there. The vases found by Leferrier in a Peruvian tomb, that is, on the west coast, which in their material and their ornamental form remind us of Grecian workmanship,[2] might rather, I think, be taken for the work of the ancient Peruvian cultured race, because a visit of the Punic peoples to the west coast is scarcely credible. All the more important, on the other hand, are the colossal hollow metal statues, in which calcined human remains have been found on the island of Carolina in the Gulf of Mexico.[3] There we have the Moloch-worship in all its forms, and in this also the evidence that on that island there existed a Phœnician or Punic trading colony, and that the name of the island, Atlantis, was by the ancients actually used with reference to America. Solan heard from Egyptian priests[4] that away out in the ocean there was an island Atlantis, ἅμα Λιβύης καὶ Ἀσίας μείζων, larger than Libya and Asia Minor together, ruled over by mighty kings, which now, however, διὰ σεισμῶν[5] is no longer accessible. In regard to this, Lübker writes:[6] "The tradition seems to affirm on behalf of the knowledge of a far distant and vast continent an extremely remote antiquity. Perhaps Phœnician and Punic ships had been driven to the American coasts, by means of which, on their happy return home, a general acquaintance therewith may have been spread, so that by the Atlantis of Plato, or the great unnamed island of Pliny,[7] and Diodorus,[8] and Arnobius, actually America was

[1] *Antiquités Mexic.* iii. pl. 36. [2] *Ausland*, 1836, No. 24.
[3] Münter, *Religion der Karthager*, p. 10.
[4] Platon, *Timæus*, p. 24 f.; *Critias*, p. 109 ff.
[5] A hurricane of a violent kind, comp. Matt. viii. 24.
[6] Lübker, *Reallexikon*, p. 127.
[7] Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, vi. 31 and 199; ii. 90 and 205.
[8] Diodorus Siculus, v. 19.

intended." In like manner also Pauly says:[1] "From this, now, one may conclude as he will, but the possibility cannot be denied of there being, at the bottom of this supposed Egyptian legend, a Phœnician sailor's story, disfigured it may be to some extent designedly; so there is contained in other passages of the ancients, either some obscure knowledge, or an impression of the existence of the continent of the Western hemisphere. Closer investigation among the ruins of earlier civilisations in America must yet give enlightenment on this question." Now such ruined fragments of culture of a specifically Phœnician kind have actually been found and thoroughly verified. In Nicaragua and on the Orinoco circumcision was practised,[2] as well as in North Africa by the Egyptians and Libyans, and by the Phœnicians and Punic races.[3] The natives in Nicaragua celebrated a yearly festival, at which the women abandoned themselves to prostitution in honour of the moon-goddess,[4] the genuine Astarte (§ 249 ff.). In Ushmall, in Central America, Stephens[5] found monuments which prove quite clearly that phallic worship had been prevalent there (comp. also § 289, *Obs.*, and § 290). But although there be here actually found a direct repetition of the Phœnician or Punic religion, we may not on that account conclude that the black-coloured Caribs are direct descendants of the light-coloured Punic race. This would be in every way absurd. The Caribs themselves preserved the most distinct tradition of their coming from the south, from South America, that they had come to the Antilles from Guiana in ships, and that there they had been called *benari*, people from over the sea. They had also not long before pushed their way into Nicaragua as invaders, and it could not be from thence that they brought their Astarte-worship,

[1] Pauly, *Realencyclopædia*, i. 2035.
[2] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 479.
[3] Herodotus, ii. 104. Diodorus Siculus, i. 28.
[4] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 663.
[5] Stephens, *Reiseerlebnisse in Zentralamerika*, p. 407. Comp. Carli, *amerik. Briefe*, ii. 59 and 72. Braunschweig, *amerik. Denkm.* p. 63.

since no trace is found among them of such a Moloch and Astarte worship. As we shall point out more fully in a later part (§ 289, *Obs.*, and § 290), traces of this worship are rather to be found in the old cultured empires of Central America with which the Caribs had commercial intercourse, whose people were regarded by them as foreigners, and of an altogether different stock. We must therefore consider the Caribs, not as an Old Punic or Phœnician race, but as of a Libyan or Berber stock, which migrated to South America, probably long before the discovery of the American continent, perhaps during the first century after Christ.

Obs. — In the hieroglyphics on the ruins of Pallenque in Chiapa (see § 290), Rafinesque-Schmalz (Letters to Champollion in the *Atlantic Journal*, Philad. 1832–33, p. 4 ff. and p. 40 f.), among others, thought that he recognised one kind which had a great resemblance to Old Libyan inscriptions, which he found represented in Gramay's *Africa illustrata*. If this were confirmed, it would support the view that they were not Phœnicians or Punic tribes, but Old Libyans of the pre-Christian era, who introduced the Astarte and Moloch worship into America. It would then be much easier to consider the Caribs direct descendants of these Old Libyan colonists. But those conjectures of Rafinesque awaken little confidence. The genuineness and the origin of those Libyan inscriptions of Gramay are doubtful, and Rafinesque is so preoccupied with his own pet theories, that his discovery, in order to appear credible, would need at least to be supported by other and quite independent evidence.

§ 285. *Religion and Legends of the Caribs.*

The Caribs[1] worshipped the moon as the supreme god. That they worshipped not the sun and moon as a pair, distinguished them from the Malays as well as from the Phœnicians; from the latter they are further distinguished by regarding the moon as a male deity. The worship of spirits alongside that of the moon may have been borrowed by them in America from neighbouring tribes; and when

[1] For the detailed proof, see Müller, *amerik. Urreligionen*, i. B, b.

they call the female guardian spirits *tshemen*, it is quite evident that this name was adapted from the *dsemes* of the Aruacas. But when we find them terrorized by the idea of a regular kingdom of evil spirits, with a governor at their head, we are at once specifically reminded of Africa. The Libyans of ancient times had certainly adopted the worship of Astarte, as the Libyan coins found in Spain with a woman's head crowned with a crescent prove; this, however, would not lead us to believe that in those ancient times the Caribs had come over from Africa. But it is now admitted that Libyan tribes were driven before the power of the Roman empire, and later, before the influence of Christianity, and then again before the Vandals, and last of all, before the Arabs, toward the south-west, where they made their appearance as Berbers, and where they still exist. It is highly probable that among them, in the pre-Mohammedan era, in common, perhaps, with the old negro tribes like the Joloffers, a worship of the moon was practised, as we have found it existing among the races of South Africa.[1] In a hot climate, where the sun gives forth a sweltering heat, it is quite conceivable that the starry firmament of night should be pre-eminently an object of worship, as bringing refreshing coolness, and be placed in honour above the sun. This religion may, indeed, have been also developed from reminiscences and echoes of the religion of their Carthaginian neighbours. The Moloch of the Libyans, as the scorching, life-destroying god of death, may have been originally at the foundation of the conception of Mabocha, the chief of the evil spirits among the Caribs, although this appears not so much in the form of the name as in the idea and nature of the being. And when we remember that (§ 251, *Obs.*) among the Punic races in later times Dido-Astarte was represented as a bearded hermaphrodite, we are afforded an explanation of the transition to a conception of the moon as a male

[1] Have the mountains of the moon received their name from the moon-worship of their inhabitants?

deity. The Caribs called him Nonun. This name reminds us of the promontory Nun in the south of Morocco. It is specially noticeable that they worshipped the planet Venus as the wife of the moon-god. We have here Ashera alongside of Astarte, conceived of now as a man. The islander-Caribs in addition worshipped a sun-god Hudshu; and called heaven, as the residence of good spirits and the souls of the dead, *hudshuku*, house of the sun. The myth about the sun emerging from a cave was evidently borrowed by them from their Aruaca wives: the idea of the sun-god might come from the same source. The idea, however, is quite feasible that this Hudshu corresponds to the Punic Baal, as Mabocha does to Moloch; and that the Caribs called the sun by another name than the Aruacas, seems evidence in favour of this opinion. A god Hutsha is also mentioned among some of the Brazilian tribes.[1]

Besides these gods they had a thunder-god, Sawaku, a god of the wind, Atshi-waon, a god of the sea and storms and tides, Kurumon. It is questionable whether these gods were not borrowed from neighbouring tribes. Sawaku has quite a Malay sound, and from their Malayan neighbours, the Tamanacs, they have taken the name of the first man, Rakumon, besides a portion of the Loguo legend, and out of him they have made a rain-god. They say expressly, Rakumon has been changed into a rain-dispensing star.

When it is told of them that they had worshipped a goddess of birth, this constitutes another Punic characteristic. They had also guardian deities of the chase, of the seasons. They called the earth mother, like the Aruacas, and an earthquake was to them a token calling them to dance.

We might therefore assume that they had introduced from Africa, about A.D. 600, the worship of the moon-god Nonun, of the planet Venus, of the evil god Mabocha, and perhaps also of the sun-god Hudshu; while, on the other hand, they adopted the worship of Sawaku, Atshiwan, Kurumon, and Rakumon,

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 270.

as well as the legend of the sun emerging from the cave, from their Malay neighbours in South America, the Tamanacs; the words *tshemen* as designating female spirits, and *dsheri* as designating male spirits, were first learnt, before the discovery of America, from those Aruaca women whom they seized upon the Antilles and married. As names for the spirits, they possessed some other expressions, probably of Tamanac origin,—*opojen* and *umeka* for good spirits, *mapojen* for evil spirits.[1] For the spirits collectively they have the word *akambue.*

They represent their gods and spirits by images, some in human, others in animal form. Their sorcerers, *piatshes, piai, bocher, bagoier,* constituted an order, which received novices, which points back to an earlier priestly caste. Every sorcerer had his own special spirit, to whom he sacrificed, and upon whom he called. Moreover, every head of a household at his meals offered to the spirit a part of the food, and the first portion of the tobacco and cassava. All offerings (*u-akri, an-akri, al-akri*) were laid on a sacrificial table (*matutu, mitutu*). At burials slaves were slain. They had no annual festivals, or else these had been discontinued. Feasts and offerings were appointed just as occasion required, and were celebrated with dances and fasts without prayers.

The *maraca,* the old hollow fruit of a tree, filled with little stones ornamented with feathers, was a sort of idol, around which they danced on the feast of the fifteenth day, and to which they sacrificed men. We have said in Mabocha there seemed to be found the essential characteristics of the Punic Moloch, and it would seem that in the *maraca* his very name has been preserved, *l* being very frequently in the American languages changed into *r,* and that in the Maraka-bottle we have nothing else than a miniature image of Moloch. Evidently, then, that *marica* which has become among the Patagonians

[1] *Pojen* reminds us of the Malagasy *pangahi,* spirit. *Ma* is the common Malay word for evil. *O, u,* reminds us of the Polynesian *ao,* bright, and *meka* of the Tahitian *maitai,* good.

(§ 281) a magic flask, is of Caribbean origin, and was introduced by the Caribs among the southern tribes. That there was an intercourse between the two, and that the Caribs exerted an influence upon those tribes, is proved by the fact that among the Brazilians all sorcerers are called *karips*, just as among the Syrians all magicians were called Chaldeans.

According to the notions of the Caribs, each man has several souls, one in his head, one in his heart, one in his arms. From the heart-souls after death come the good spirits; from the other souls come the evil spirits. These spirits long to return to the body, haunt the bones and hair of the dead, and even continue to propagate themselves. The heart-souls go to heaven and are changed into stars, or live at least a happy life, served by their dead slaves. Here and there the bodies were preserved as mummies. This, as well as the distinction of the three souls, which vividly reminds us of the Egyptian trias, soul or heart shade, and body (§ 241), is satisfactorily explained by the hypothesis of a connection with the Libyan race, which would involve proximity to the Egyptians.

In regard to customs these may be mentioned: the infant was sprinkled with the blood of his father, the youths wounded themselves on becoming capable of bearing arms, the man, too, when he becomes a leader or a sorcerer. This is an evident relic of an old blood-offering.

They had the tradition that the sun and the moon were created after the earth. They were very much afraid of thunder, and in the case of eclipses of the moon they thought that Mabocha, the evil spirit, was devouring the moon, and they sought by offerings and various ceremonies to appease his wrath.

C.—Early Immigration of Japano-Mongolian Races about B.C. 100.

§ 286. *Traces of an early Mongolian Immigration.*

Since the time of Hieronymus Bock's *newen Kreuterbuch* (Strassb. 1539) down to modern times, the general impression has been that maize (*Zea mays*) was a plant native to the American continent.[1] Europeans always first came to know it there, and found it spread over almost the whole of North and South America. But this view has been overthrown since Crawfurd met with maize among the natives in the Indian Archipelago, and found them naming it by the native word *sagung*.[2] There is not the least shadow of probability in the supposition that these Melanesians and Malays had obtained the maize through Europeans. But this notion has been completely overturned by Siebold's discovery of maize cobs among the Japanese emblems. Bonafous also proved that before the discovery of America the Chinese had cultivated maize in their own land.[3] That the maize had not been introduced into Japan by Europeans, and could not have been introduced by Europeans into China before 1492, is incontestable. If it came directly from America to those countries, that presupposes an early intercourse between the east coast of Asia and of the New World, which fully grants the possibility of East Asiatic immigrations into America; and so the question is simply reduced to this, whether the East Asiatics imported the maize from America to China and Japan, or whether they brought it to America from these lands. The latter supposition is surely the more probable, and becomes a certainty when we read in the ancients of an Asiatic species of corn, of which the description can only apply to maize. Herodotus[4] tells of a *Δήμητρος καρπός* or

[1] So still Koch, *Taschenbuch der deutschen und schweizer Flora*, p. 555.

[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 366. See his report in Rauch, *Einheit des Mensch.* p. 327 f.

[3] Rauch, *Einheit*, etc.

[4] Herodotus, i. 193.

σῖτος the heads of which bore from 200 to 300 corns, and had leaves four finger-breadths broad (*τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόδι τῶν δὲ πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλλων*); and Theophrastus[1] says that a kind of grain grew in Asia throughout Bactria, the corns of which were of the size of olive berries; and that has been by Schleiden[2] quite properly identified with maize. Since, then, the maize is never found growing wild in America, but even in the Indian territories is only found as a cultivated plant,[3] the view of Reynier[4] must surely be adopted, that the maize had been introduced into America by East Asiatic colonists. As regards the possibility of such an immigration, it may be proved to demonstration by the following facts. North of the Tropic of Cancer the ocean current passes from west to east. Kotzebue[5] relates the fact that Japanese were driven from Osago to California by a current after a seventeen months' voyage; but in 1721 a French ship was driven in fifty days from China to the west coast of Mexico;[6] in 1833 a Japanese junk was driven into the coast of Mexico; and so early as the 16th century, remains of Japanese and Chinese ships were found on the coasts of Dorado.[7] "Japanese boats are often driven by storms to America. In the end of last century such a boat landed on the coasts of Oregon; a Japanese ship sailing from Osaka was met with in 1815 by the American brig *Forster* in the eddy of the ocean current, and since the rise of San Francisco similar cases have often been observed, so that one cannot doubt of their frequent occurrence in earlier times."[8] In connection with this we must remember that the Japanese (§ 269) in olden times were a seafaring race.

[1] Theophrastus, viii. 4.
[2] Schleiden, *Studien*, p. 24.
[3] Martius, *zur Ethnograph. Amerika's*, i. 17 f. Bachmann, *The Doctrine of Unity*, p. 281.
Reynier, *économie des Arabes*, p. 94.
[5] Kotzebue, *Reise*, ii. 36.
[6] Ranking, *Researches*, p. 49.
[7] Bradford, *Amer. Antiquities*, 236. Al. von Humboldt, *Ansichten*, i. 215.
[8] Bastian, *das Beständige in den Menschenrassen*, Berl. 1868, p. 133.

Now traces of an immigration of tribes belonging to the Mongolian group are actually found, and that, indeed, in great numbers.[1] In the most diverse parts of America a Mongolian physical build is discoverable among the Indian tribes. In Boston three skulls were found of a tribe that is now extinct belonging to the Mississippi valley, which are strikingly similar to Chinese skulls.[2] The Guarani Indians in Brazil, on the river Amazon, and on the La Plata, living in the interior, are of a bright and indeed yellow-coloured skin, and have obliquely set eyes.[3] The Botocudos, a very savage race, going naked and of cannibal habits, living south of the Amazon, who suck up the blood of the slain and then cook their flesh, engage in no agricultural pursuits, and where old people are used as food, have in their yellow-coloured skin and oblique-set eyes so striking a resemblance to the Chinese and Japanese, that Tschudi[4] says: "I have seen Chinese whom at the first glance I would have taken for Botocudos, had not their head-dress and clothing indicated their origin; and again I have observed some Nackenuks (Botocudos) who had in perfection the appearance of Chinese coolies." The derivation of these Botocudos from the western side of the Cordilleras can be proved to a certainty. The Portuguese gave them the Portuguese name Botocudos, plug-people, from the plugs which they wear in the lobes of their ears and in their lips. They call themselves Aymaras or Ensheregmung. Now we have learnt about (§ 287) the old cultured race of the Aymaras on the Titicaca lake in Peru, a race showing essentially Mongolian

[1] Peschel, *The Races of Man*, Lond. 1876, p. 402 ff., and Tschudi, "Ollantadrama" (*Denkschr. d. k. östr. Akad. d. W.* 1876, vol. xxiv. p. 176), assume that the American cultured peoples were Mongolian, and wandered from north-east of Asia into the north-west of America, and from that moved southwards. But Tschudi goes too far when he applies this to all the American peoples, while yet the Old Peruvian traditions collected by himself, p. 170, show a connection between Mongolian colonists and the Malays.

[2] Perty, *Ethnographie*, p. 54.

[3] According to the testimony of Martius, Orbigny, St. Hilaire.

[4] *Ausland*, 1867, p. 1186.

characteristics. A remnant of these exists even now under a similar name on the plateau of Bolivia;[1] and also in Peru there is a tribe of Chiriguanos (comp. Ensheremung) of whom Temple[2] says: "Had I seen them in Europe, I would undoubtedly have taken them for Chinese." In the Botocudos and Guaranis, then, we have again a striking example of races passing into savage ways, a case of deterioration, which is that which on all sides presents itself to view in real life instead of the chimerical upward development. Even Martius[3] declares it to be his conviction that those Guaranis, and the Miranchas or Botocudo tribes related to them, had been at an earlier period civilised, and had gradually sunken. The process of degradation toward savagery is therefore quite conceivable. When hordes of the Aymara cultured people, driven by love of the chase and a wandering life, went over the passes of the Andes, and, following the watercourse, lost themselves and strayed in the endless prairies and lowlands of Brazil, which yielded them no support except the game and some wild-growing plants, hunger would compel them to undertake longer and yet longer journeys. Agriculture and weaving would be abandoned, unlearnt, and forgotten. The clothing judged necessary, and in that hot climate unnecessary, tended more and more to disappear. The wild life of the chase nourished and strengthened the thirst for blood. This is quite conceivable, if these were rude tribes of the Aymara stock which chose this nomadic life or drifted into it. And that this was actually the case, that especially with the cultured Japanese on their entrance into America there were also rude Mandshurians from Yeso and the Curile islands, will be shown in § 288.

Then, again, we also find among those Indians of South America the Old Mongolian-Japanese legend of Alancava or

[1] Tschudi, *Reise in Peru*, ii. 362.

[2] Temple, *Travels in Peru*, ii. 184.

[3] Martius in the *Deutschen Vierteljahrschrift*, 1839, ii. 235 ff. Similarly Tschudi, "Ollantadrama," p. 175.

Amatsufiko (§ 266 and 269). The Mandshusikers in Paraguay[1] had a fair woman who, without any intercourse with a man, bore a beautiful child, who, after various miracles, was raised to heaven, and was changed into the sun. They worshipped three gods, *titianacos*,—namely, Omequa turigni or Urago soriso, Ura-sana, and Ura-po, to whom they gave meat and drink offerings. In the appellative *tini-a-naco* we have an echo of the Japanese *ten*, heaven; but perhaps *ni* is a plural suffix, in which case *ti-ni-a-naco* would exactly correspond to the Mongolian *nagi-tai* (§ 266), and would mean gods in heaven or gods of heaven. *Ome* seems to be the Old Mongolian *amu, ama*, father. *Ura* might be a reminiscence of a Japanese-Mongolian term, like the Old Mongolian *nura*, light (§ 266); but it may also be connected with *taru, juru* (§ 288). In these three gods there might be embraced an original form of the Old Japanese mythology, like that in the Buddhist tradition of the Japanese deities (§ 269).

The Jurukares in Bolivia tell[2] of a virgin who painted the beautiful tree Ule with Roku. It was changed into a man, and embraced her. They lived happily together till a jaguar killed him. She laid the torn members together, and Ule became alive again. As, however, there was a piece wanting out of his cheek, he wished, in this deformed state, no further to accompany her, and he left her. There is a very apparent similarity between this legend and that of Osiris and Typhon, Absyrtus and Medea, Jason and Pelias, and favours its Asiatic origin.

When we turn now from the legends to the manners and customs, we find among the Abipones on the La Plata, and also among several tribes on the river Amazon as well as in California, the quite unusual practice of the husband lying down while his wife is in childbed, and conducting himself as a woman in that condition, and at the end undergoing a ceremony of purification.[3] Now this custom is purely Asiatic. It

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 255 f. [2] *Ibid.* p. 264.
[3] Dobritzhofer, *Geschichte der Abiponer*, ii. 273. Quandt, *die Arovaken*

was already found in early times among the Tibareni in Armenia,[1] and is found among the Miaos in China,[2] and also among the Basques (comp. das Fabliau: Aucassin und Nicolette).

Unnatural vice was widely spread in the Old Peruvian empire and its surroundings; but the Incas stamped it out with great energy in the new empire of Peru (§ 294). Even among the wild tribes of Brazil, not only such vice, but also the practice of certain men, for the most part sorcerers, going in women's clothes as Kinäden, prevailed and still prevails.[3] This custom, originating from a profligate religion, was already met with in antiquity among the Enari, a people of Northern Asia,[4] continued to be practised by various Mongol tribes,[5] and especially is indulged in among the Japanese, among whom "every sort of lust bears sway."[6] The sculptures which have been found here and there upon rocks in Brazil, deeply carved figures, which represent the sun, moon, serpents, and other monsters, have the greatest possible resemblance to sculptures of a like nature in Siberia.[7] In Peru we shall have to seek the chief residence of the immigrating East Asiatics of the Mongolian stem, and this will be fully confirmed by the monuments found in the Peruvian empire. These immigrants, however, would scarcely have gone so far southwards in a direct voyage over the Pacific Ocean, but rather by coasting voyages, or, still more probably, by coast journeys on land from Cape Analaska, by which course they could easily pass from Japan over the Kurile islands, and Kamtschatka, and the

in Guiana, p. 252. Venegas, *noticia de la California*, Madrid 1757. Al. von Humboldt, *Reisen in die Aequatorialgegenden*, v. 323.

[1] Strabo, iii. p. 165. Diod. Sic. v. p. 341. Apollon. Rhod. *argon.* ii. 1009 ff.

[2] Neumann, *asiat. Studien*, i. 73 ff.

[3] Martius in the *deutschen Vierteljahrschrift*, 1839, ii. 235 ff. Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 240 ff.

[4] Herodotus, iv. 67.

[5] Müller, *Urreligionen*, 240 ff. Stark, *de νούσῳ θηλείᾳ*, 1822.

[6] Stuhr, *Relig. des Orients*, p. 48.

[7] A. von Humboldt, *Reisen*, iii. 408; iv. 315, 516. Spix, *Reisen in Brasilien*, ii. 741, 752; iii. 1257 ff., 1272.

Aleutia, proceeding in short occasional voyages from island to island. If, then, they moved southward from Analaska along the west coast of America, we would expect to find traces of their presence north of Peru. And so we actually do meet with a cultured people in the Muyscas of Bogota, whose language, according to the researches of Paravey,[1] has many roots in common with the language of Japan. It will also be shown at a later point that its constitution also is very similar to that of the Japanese. Farther north, in Central America, figures are found on the ruins of Pallenque, which show the leg from the knee downwards bound with broad bands and a sandal on the foot. This fashion must certainly be derived from the Japanese rather than from the Basques (§ 258); for, though it is the national style in both countries, the Japanese wear a girdle under their clothes upon the body, and this also is found in those figures at Pallenque.[2] We shall therefore ascribe to the cultured people of Central America, to whom we owe the ruins in Chiapa, Yucatan, and Guatemala, a Mongol-East-Asiatic, or more precisely, a Japanese origin. And in proportion as the influences and after-effects (§ 284) of an Old Phœnician or Punic colony made themselves felt upon this Central American people, will we be obliged to date back its immigration to a very early period. If the Malays were driven into the Sunda Archipelago about B.C. 2000, they may have reached America about B.C. 1600 or 1400. The origin of the Phœnician colonies on the Gulf of Mexico, seeing that the island Atlantis is mentioned in Solon's time, must be set down before B.C. 600. The arrival of the Japanese in America, as these had reached a high degree of culture, cannot be put earlier than B.C. 209, the date of the entrance of the Zikofucus into Japan (§ 269), or, more probably, B.C. 100.[3]

[1] Paravey, *Mémoire sur l'origine Japonaise, Arabe et Basque de la civilisation des peuples du plateau de Bogota*, Paris 1835. Comp. Braunzweig in the *Amerik. Denkmälern.*

[2] Minuto, *Beschreibung einer alten Stadt*, Berlin 1852, Lafel (tables) ii.–iv.

[3] The Chinese have the remarkable story (Gfrorer, *Urgeschichte*, i. 261),

There have been, then, certain influences from the Old Punic race operating upon the Malay States, which took shape in the Japanese race of Central America.

These Japanese tribes certainly at first spread themselves over part of North America. The mocassins of the Redskins have a resemblance to the foot-coverings of the figures of Pallenque. Also the Old Malay Alligevi empire on the Mississippi may have had connections with the West, and there may also have been a mixture of the races. In the time of Cortez, however, those Old Japanese cultured peoples had long passed away, driven southwards by later immigrations from other lands.

Obs. 1.—The Ketshua language of the Old Peruvian empire, which held its place as the national language under the later domination of the Incas (§ 293), has certainly few points of contrast with the Japanese language. But we must remember that already in Peru it was, from the first, a conglomerate of Malay and Japanese, and had thereafter a course of development two thousand years long. The consonants *d, g, b, v, w* have been altogether lost; and in place of these they have formed gutturals and palatal sibilants with a smacking sound to an extraordinary degree. Notwithstanding all this, some striking correspondences are still found with the Japanese languages. I will give a few examples, in which the Ketshua words are printed in italics. Kamé, ruler, regent, *cama*, to rule; tsuku, to send, mention, *catscha*, to send; *tshoccha*, to throw; on, with, *huan*, with; ari, and, also, *ari*, yea, but; siò, kingdom, *suju*, province; koku, seed, *cchocchau*, provisions; kin, gold, *ccho*, gold; tsiaku, to come, *tschaki*, foot, leg, track; kai, sea, *cchotsha*, sea; *tschuja*, fluid; aksingu, *acchi*, to sneeze; kuru, to give, *chura*, to lay down; akibonu, it dawns, *acapana*, dawn; aki, empty, *acuy*, slight; atsa, thick, *accha*, much; amaru, fearful, *amaru*, the great serpent; arassu, empty, *aslla*, little; asi, taste, *asna*, to spread an odour; jagi, dirt, *yaca*, to dung; ju, *y*, to tell; jubi, finger, *yupi*, to grasp; ikara, to be angry, *ik*, interjection of rage; skui, *iscu*, chalk. Whether there be any etymological connection between the following words, I must admit, seems to me very problematical:—Between fune and *huampu*, pro-

that in B.C 209 Shi-hoang-ti sent forth three hundred pairs in ships to search for the plant of immortality. The ships were cast ashore by a storm, and never returned. This, however, might refer to the troops of the Zikofucus who reached Japan.

nounced wambu, ship; between feo, weapon, and *pfecta* (with smacking sound of *p*), bow, sake, and *kakia*, to scream; and between these numerals—2, itsi, *iscay;* 3, san, *kimsa;* 4, si, *tschusca;* 5, go, *pitschca;* 6, sen, *socta;* 7, sitsi, *cantschis, jantshis;* 8, fakka, *puschak;* 9, kiu, *iscun;* 10, ziu, *tschunca;* 100, fiaku, *patschak.* In 2, 6, 8, 10, 100, such a connection may be granted —*e.g.* from *fiaku* by reduplication we would have *f-k-k*, and then these become *p-tsch-k.* But now, in addition, we must remember that the language of Japan (§ 269) has, just within the last three centuries, undergone a complete transformation. What alterations may have taken place in it during the period of the immigration of the Zikofucus in B.C. 200! The immigration of the Aymara tribes from Japan into Peru did take place just about that time. There were tribes which were driven from Japan on the entrance of the Zikofucus into that country. That the Ketshua language is no longer similar to the language now spoken in Japan, nor indeed to the *furu-koto* spoken in Japan 1600 years ago, cannot be a matter of doubt. The present Japanese language is characterized by Wernich as "in itself already [since what time?] an overloaded language, which, by a vast number of incorporated foreign expressions and figures of speech, has degenerated into a sickly, crammed, linguistic-amalgam, scarcely capable of life."

Obs. 2.—The Araucanians in Chili are a mixed race, made up of Malays and Aymaras. They show themselves to be such in comparison with the pure Malay Tsonecas: (1) by their bright skin (Chaworth-Musters, *Among the Patagonians*); (2) by their decidedly superior culture, for they have fixed abodes, cultivate maize and fruits, prepare cider, wear a complicated dress like that of cultured races, of which they are very careful, they weave handsome pontshos, and manufacture fine silver work (Chaworth-Musters, *l.c.*); (3) by their language, which is quite different from that of the Tsonecas; (4) by their religion, which shows clearly the influence of the Aymaras, these Japanese incomers, for the Araucanians have a distinct sun-worship beside their own spirits or sorcery; and (5) finally, by their warlike character. In contrast to the peaceful, good-natured Tsonecas, whose occasional wars bear simply the appearance of wild, sudden robber-raids, they are a warlike and very brave people, which have kept the Government of Chili pretty busy down even to the present time. They are born riders. Their mode of warfare is extremely like that of the Chirokees. In earlier times, too, quite according to Mongol custom, they reduced to slavery all who were conquered in war (Berghaus, vi. 239 f.). Their Asiatic extraction is also proved by the game of chess, which (according to Molina, ii. 108; Bradford, 407) was known among the Araucanians under the name of *komilkan* before the

country was discovered. The subordinate position which they (as is also still the custom in Japan) assign to their women is a thoroughly Mongolian feature; and also the way in which, without any question of inclination, they purchase the bride from her parents. In the Aymaras, then, of the Old Peruvian empire, notwithstanding their outward culture, we shall be obliged to admit an extraordinary measure of national rudeness, and so shall find it quite conceivable that isolated hordes of this people could sink to the degraded position of the Botocudos.

§ 287. *The Old Peruvian Empire of the Aymaras, and their Religion.*

When Pizarro discovered Peru, the empire of the Incas was then existing, with its capital at Cuzco. According to the declarations of its princes themselves, this empire had been founded only a few centuries before;[1] but according to the most definite traditions and the reports of the people, there had been an older empire under a line of eighty successive kings, in which a different religion had been professed. This empire and people were in a state of deep moral degradation, and had fallen into an almost savage condition. Human sacrifices and unnatural vice had been commonly practised, when the Inca Roca founded a new empire and introduced the new Inca religion,[2] the laws of which actually forbade human sacrifices and unnatural vice under pain of death. But besides those traditions, we have also the evidence of ancient monuments in regard to the existence of this pre-Inca empire. On the Lake Titicaca, about 150 miles south-east of Cuzco, lying in a deep valley 12,700 feet above the sea, in the district which in Pizarro's time the Aymaras inhabited,[3] stand the

[1] According to Garcilasso (*Geschichte der Inka's, Germ.*, Nordhausen 1788), whose mother was an Inca princess, the Inca empire lasted 400 years; according to the opinion of the Royal Spanish *audiencia* of Peru (in Prescott, i. 9), only 200 years; according to the conjecture of Velasco, 500 years. As the thirteenth king was reigning at the time of the discovery, about 250 years may be a more probable guess.

[2] Garcilasso, p. 303. In the Peruvian language, *c* and *k* are quite distinct and different sounds.

[3] At the present time the Huantshas dwell there, while the Aymaras

buildings of Tia-Huanacu, of which the natives declare that they were erected before the sun shone on the earth, that is, before the introduction of the sun religion of the Incas. In fact, the fourth Inca, Mayta Capac, when he invaded that district, found it in process of building and partly unfinished. Down to the present time, in the quarries of Capia, there lie stone columns wholly or half hewn. These structures are mounds of a hundred feet high, similar to the *morais* of the Malays, and owe their origin undoubtedly to the primitive Malayan inhabitants. These, however, are surrounded by pillars which are not Malayan. Then there are also several temples of from 300 to 600 feet long, with colossal cornered pillars, these ornamented with bass-reliefs. There are also basalt statues with heads constructed with anatomical correctness, and natural in form. A palace, too, has been discovered of hewn masses of rock.[1] Also in the valley of Pachacamac, south of Lima and west of Cuzco, there was a temple which was dedicated to a god of the same name, but had been changed by the Incas into a temple of their sun-god Yn-ti, of which there are still remaining some columns with niches and paintings.[2] Similar buildings, too, are found in Tambo, Truxillo, Cuclap, and Tia-Huanacu. In these structures there are many traces of an ancient picture-writing, mentioned by the Incas, but, evidently on account of their contents, considered irreligious or ungodly, and extirpate by force. The second last Inca, Huayna Capac, overran Quito (Ecuador), 960 miles north of Cuzco. Here, too, stood an ancient temple, which had been before that time dedicated to the sun and moon, containing pillars of the sun, golden discs of the sun, and silver discs of the moon, along with columns of the twelve

are now to the south-east of it, in Bolivia. Tschudi, *Reise in Peru*, ii. 362.

[1] Prichard, iv. 486. Prescott, i. 9, 10. Tschudi, *Reisen durch Südamerika*, v. p. 288 ff. Stone slabs of 25 feet long by 15 feet broad had been transported to the place of building up hill and down hill a distance of eleven miles.

[2] Tschudi, *Reise*, i. 291.

months. The new moon and the shortest day were there held as festivals, also a god of health was worshipped, and a war-god was honoured with human sacrifices, and the first-born of men had been offered in sacrifices,—all of which were put an end to by the Incas.[1] A remnant of that Old Peruvian cultured people, living in stone houses, was in existence in the time of the Incas to the east of the Andes, in the district of Tucumen and Caxamarca, under the name of Caltschacis. The Bolivian dialect of the Old Peruvian language, the Ketshua language, is spoken there by the Indians to the present day.[2]

This brings us to speak of the religion of the Old Peruvian empire, or rather that of the race. It really did not constitute an empire, but comprised a number of independent States, the princes of which, *curacas*,[3] received from the Incas under the new empire the rank of a high nobility. The old empire was essentially distinguished from the new in a religious aspect by the different place which it gave to the worship of the moon. Under the earlier order time was reckoned by lunar months, under the Inca rule by solar months.[4] But before we can more exactly determine this point, the Old Peruvian system of the gods must be considered as a whole. It was completely different from that of the Incas. We meet with the names of two gods under the old empire; both of the kings there represented are regarded as the supreme god. These are Pachacamac and Jlla-Tidsi.

1. Pachacamac is designated in an Old Peruvian poem (see *Obs.*) *pacha-rurac*, earth-builder or creator. Patscha, or according to the Spanish spelling, *pacha*, means earth, perhaps also the world; in *camac* we have the participle of *cama*, to create,

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 335. Velasco, i. 116.

[2] Tschudi, "Ollantadrama," p. 177. Versen, *transatlant. Streifzüge*, Leipz. 1876, p. 10.

[3] Montesino mentions as names of such *curacas*: Jupangui, Patschacuti, Viracotscha, Topa-Japangui, and Inti-Capac. Curaca might be originally connected with the Sanscrit *çura*, *κύριος*, Celt. *curaid*. With Topa compare the Mongol. or Mandshurian people, Topa, who subjected Northern China from A.D. 386–600.

[4] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 356.

a root which is fundamentally the same as that which we meet with in the Japanese appellative of god, *kame*. His name designates this deity the earth-god, creator of the earth; and so when Garcilasso, Velasco, and Ulloa agree in reporting the tradition of the Peruvians, that Pachacamac was an invisible deity, of whom they had no image, and to whom they brought no sacrifices, this tradition is not discredited by Acosta and Montesino having discovered long after the overthrow of the empire of the Incas wooden images, columns with human heads, which bore the name of a god, or by Acosta[1] having found in this god's temple various fish and serpent emblems. Pachacamac still continued, under the rule of the Incas, to be worshipped by the common people;[2] but among them he was regarded as one of the subordinate gods, the *huacas*, as a particular sort of god, whom they no longer represented by any image. Originally, in the ancient empire, he evidently corresponded to the Nagatai of the Mongols (§ 269), to the Tao of the Chinese (§ 268), to the Kuni toko of the Japanese (§ 269), and thus serves for the completing of our knowledge of the original Japanese religion before it was affected by Buddhism. It affords proof that the Japanese, as well as the Mongols and Chinese, had originally known and worshipped an invisible creator of the world. Another designation given to this god was Apachecta, power-bestower; and another such designation was Ataguchu. Special mention is made of a god Ataguchu,[3] to whom many temples had been dedicated. One of the temples at Lake Titicaca was assigned to him. It consisted of a large court surrounded by high walls, in the midst a deep trench surrounded by trees. The offerings would be hung upon the trees. At the same time this Ataguchu is represented as the creator of the world, and it is told that he produced from himself two other gods. One of these was called Tangatanga.[4] We have here the primitive form of that Japanese emanation myth,

[1] Acosta, v. 12.
[2] Tschudi, *Reise*, 149. *Ausland*, 1852, p. 919.
[3] Lacroix, *Univers pittoresque*. [4] Hazart, p. 249.

in which is represented the transition from the primitive monotheism of the Old Mongolians to polytheism, the buddhistically affected form of which we have already considered (§ 269). There 7 + 5, here only 3, gods go forth from one another. We shall meet again (§ 288) with these three gods among the wild Aymara tribe of the Mandshusicas. In the name Ataguchu there is unmistakeably the root *atta*, father (Tshuvah *attja*, Mongol. *etsi*, Turk. *ata*), common to very diverse languages, but not found in the Malay group.

2. There is, however, a second god that lays claim to be the supreme deity of the Old Peruvian empire, the creator of the world. This is Illa-Tidsi, in Spanish Illatici. In connection with him there is also a third god, named Wiracotscha or Guiracotscha. In the legend of Wiracotscha not only is the story of Illa-Tidsi completely overgrown, but it is only from it that he is known to us. J. G. Müller, however, has too hastily concluded from the fact that once Illatidsi Guiracotscha occurs as if one name, that originally the god Illatidsi was identical with the hero of the flood, Wiracotscha. The identification of the two was evidently a later development. If we give our attention first of all to the name, we cannot fail to notice that alongside of Illatidsi are found also the forms Tidsi and Contidsi. Hence it undoubtedly follows that Tidsi is the proper name, and Illa and Con only prefixes. The form Contidsi reminds us of Kuni-toco, the supreme god and creator of the world among the Japanese (§ 269). If, then, in the Wiracotscha legend Illatidsi is described as the supreme god, there can be no doubt as to his identity with that Kuni-toco. The verbal transition from *k* to the sibilant *c* (*z*, *ts*, *ds*) has abundant analysis in late Latin, the Basque, and some hundreds of the American languages.

3. We turn our attention now to the Wiracotscha legend. "After the great flood," so the Collas, dwellers in the mountains east of Cuzco, told the thoroughly dependable Acosta,[1]—

[1] Acosta, "natürliche und Sittengeschichte Westindiens, 1589," in Müller, p. 308.

and the story is also similarly told by Molina, Balboa, and Garcilasso,—"three brothers[1] issued from the caves of Pacaritampa. Their father was Wiracotscha (who, according to Garcilasso, i. 259, was represented as a white-bearded man in a long garment), and he had risen after the flood out of Lake Titicaca." If we continue to examine this, we shall find that the flood is spoken of as a definite and well-known occurrence. We have here one of the legends of the flood, and Wiracotscha with his three sons corresponds to Noah and his three sons. The same Wiracotscha is by Garcilasso said to mean "foam of the sea," by others "son of the sea."[2] Since the Spaniards, too, were designated by the Peruvians *wiracotschas*, it will be seen that men of the sea, or sons of the sea, is the more correct meaning. Foam of the sea could at least be understood only in the figurative sense of rising up from the sea. But should any one suggest the idea that Wiracotscha was not a form of the primitive legend common to mankind, but that the Malay early inhabitants gave to the Japanese incomers, as having come over the sea (but they came, according to § 286, undoubtedly overland from the north), the name of men of the sea, or those who rose from the sea, it has to be said, on the contrary, that Wiracotscha is not said in the legend to have risen from the Pacific Ocean, but from the Titicaca lake far up in the lofty plateau of the Andes. It is also specially irreconcilable with this theory, that Wiracotscha is not a Malay, but a Japanese word. For sea the Malayan-Polynesian languages have the words *luhut, dagat, taik;* but in Japanese the sea is called *kay*, and hence in Peruvian the unduplicated form *caca, cucha, cutscha.* It is the same root that lies at the basis of *ὠγήν, ὠκέανος*, the Celtic *cuan*, and its older uncontracted form in the name of the lake Titicaca,

[1] Ajar Catschi topa, Ajar Auca topa, and Ajar Utschu topa.

[2] Man is in Mongolian *ere*, in Mandshurian *eru*, in Turkish *ir*. It is the same original root in Latin *vir*, Celtic *fir*, Gothic *vair*. In the time of Garcilasso the word may have been obsolete; hence he derives the name from another word that was still in use—*wira*, foam (comp. Mongol. *ur*, Finn. *wuori*, to flow).

which evidently consists of the root *ti* (Chinese *tian*, deity, heaven, Japanese *ten*), and *caca*, sea, and so means God's sea or heaven's sea, and thus etymologically and in signification corresponding perfectly to the Titi-Sea of the Celts (§ 259).

Just as the legend of the Indian Manu (§ 207) transformed Manu into the creator of the post-diluvian world, and as the German legend (§ 260) attributed the same rank to Wodan or Odin, so also the Peruvian legend[1] tells how Wiracotscha, after the flood, gathered together several men (his sons) who had saved themselves in caves, and thus made the sun, moon, and stars, then formed images of stone, which he called to come forth from various caves, and with them he moved to Cuzco, departing at that point from the earth. Here now evidently we have the well-known Malay legend of creation-caves current among the Tagals on Lüzon, the Aruacas on the Antilles, and the Tsonecas in Patagonia, combined and confounded with the Japanese and Mongolian legend of Wiracotscha. The father of the post-diluvian world, who was probably already elevated by the Mongols into a god, is thus identified with the creator of the world among the early Malay inhabitants of Peru. In this way are to be explained such composite names as these: Illatidsi Wiracotscha and (see *Obs.*) Pachacamac Wiracotscha.

There remains but one further element in the legend of Wiracotscha calling for explanation. A reminiscence of Cain's murder of his brother has been transferred to the sons of the hero of the flood, and these have been confounded with the sons of Adam. This element appears under various forms in the different accounts given. Auca, the oldest son of Wiracotscha, climbed a mountain, cast stones to the four winds, in order by this symbolic act to take possession of the land, but by so doing he roused the jealousy of his youngest brother Utschu. He persuaded Auca to go into a cave to worship there the supreme god Illatidsi-Wiracotscha.

[1] Betanço in Garcia, *Orig. de los Indios*, v. 3. 7.

When his elder brother was in the cave, Utschu shut up its entrance with masses of rock, then persuaded the third brother, Catschi, to search for the lost Auca, climbed with him under this pretence a mountain, and cast him over a precipice. He then gave out that Catschi had turned himself into a stone. The part which here again the caves play, and the existence of legends among the Tongans (§ 272) which tell in a similar way the chief incident of the brother's murder, lead us to recognise this legend as one derived from the early Malay inhabitants of Peru. It is noticeable, too, that the name Auca corresponds to the Tongan name Waca Acau, and so our conjecture is confirmed (§ 281, *Obs.* 1) that Acau in the Tongan legend was originally a proper name, and that the appellative signification "ship of the black wood" was a secondary designation first occasioned by a combination with a Melanesian legend.

To return again to Peru; according to another version of the Peruvian Auca legend, Catschi had been transformed by a sorcerer into a rock; the rock was still shown and treated with reverence. According to yet another version, Auca got out of his cave and fled. Utschu gave out that Auca had been received into heaven, a reminiscence perhaps of Enoch. Utschu took the name Manco,[1] and built Cuzco, and was at last changed into a stone. This changing into stone evidently means nothing else than that stones existed as images of those brothers, and were objects of worship. According to the account of Acosta, Manco Capac was not Utschu himself, but a son of Utschu. According to Garcilasso and Balboa, Utschu had three sons, Manco, Auca, and Catschi, around whom the above stories gathered. It appears from the name and the kind of connection with Wiracotscha how confusion and uncertainty prevail. The core of the legend, however, is always there, that one brother puts another to death through jealousy,

[1] As in Peruvian Inca means son of the sun, Manco, which is only an older form of Manca, means Man-son, Manu-son. And so we have here again the name of Manu as that of the hero of the flood.

while the murdered one is represented as a worshipper of the supreme God.

4. This last legend carries us over to the legend of Manco-Capac,[1] which leads us at once into the regions of American history. The people of the country, so says the tradition, lived in the beginning naked and without laws, worshipped all possible false gods, even animals [and ate their prisoners taken in war]. Then [the sun] pitied them, and sent them two of his children, Manco-Capac and his [sister and] wife Mama-Ohello (Odsello, Oello) Huasco, to introduce among them the worship of the sun and general culture. These sprang up from Lake Titicaca: a golden magic wand showed them Cuzco, that is, the navel, as a place where they should rear a city. Pacha-mama,[2] the earth or land mother, was a designation of Mama-Ohello. This legend, as the words inclosed in the square brackets show, no longer exists in its original form, but remodelled in the style and according to the ideas of the Inca religion and the Inca empire. The Incas first introduced the sun-worship, called themselves sons of the sun, put a stop to human sacrifices, and taught that the moon-goddess was at once sister and wife of the sun-god. The old germ of the legend is evidently simply this: Foreign invaders, the Japanese Aymaras, came upon the Malays, found them going naked and already in a state of savagery;[3] they settled first of all at Titicaca, then built Cuzco, and so founded the Old Peruvian empire. The later legend identified the leader of these invaders, who perhaps was actually called Capac, with that Manco of the primitive legend, the son of Manu-Wiracotscha, and to the time of the Incas he would be completely changed into a son of the sun. The Incas were thus crafty in connecting their genealogical tree with the legendary Manco-Capac. Their actual father

[1] Garcilasso, *Gesch. des Inkas*, ii. 9.

[2] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 363.

[3] And indeed the legend (in Barcia, *Historiadores primit.*, Madrid 1749, vol. iii.) speaks of a whole race, the Ringrim, as having migrated under Capella (Capac).

and the founder of the empire was the Inca Roca, about A.D. 1200. Garcilasso, Balboa, and Velasquez would have him to be Manco-Capac's fifth successor. Montesino, however, gives it as the story of the Peruvians, that Manco lay far back in the past, about a thousand years before Roka, and had been the founder of an older empire. Although the thousand years may altogether be too much of a stretch to the report given by Montesino, it must be honourably conceded that it gives the correct statement of the fact, whereas that of Garcilasso is evidently constructed with a definite purpose.

5. One more notable legend[1] leads us back to a consideration of the religion of the Old Peruvian empire. The god Con, so runs the tradition, had come from the north and was long worshipped as the one god. Then from the south appeared Pachacamac as a mightier god, who renewed the world and changed former men into monkeys. We cannot regard this Con as identical with that Kon-tidsi, who is the same as Illa-tidsi and Kuni-toco of the Japanese; for he is rather to be identified with Pachacamac himself, as both again are one with Wiracotscha. Since also Pachacamac is a Japanese name as well as Kon-tidsi, it can scarcely be supposed that two branches of one people had fallen into a religious conflict over two names for one and the same god. The dislodging of the god Con by the god Pachacamac evidently therefore means that the worship or religion of the former was displaced by that of the latter. Con then must necessarily have been the deity of a Malay race, which had been driven away before the Japanese as in their migrations they followed the coast, which therefore still occupied the heights of Cuzco. When, then, those Japanese, the Aymaras, extended their empire from Titicaca northwards, when the district of Cuzco was subjugated, and the city of that name was founded, the god Con, the worship of this god, was displaced; and seeing that his former worshippers were wild

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 319.

men going naked, it is conceivable that they were regarded by the cultured race as monkeys, were reviled as monkeys, and that so the legend of the changing of an earlier race of men into monkeys may have arisen. If Con was worshipped by them as the one god, he must have corresponded to the *tuwan* of the Japanese, the *atua* of the Tahitians and New Zealanders; and as *atua* is in Hawaiian changed into *akua*, so may *tuwan* have been changed by some tribes into *kuan*, *kon*, or indeed *kon* may have originated directly from the Hawaiian *akua*. In fact, it is now reported to us[1] that the common people in Peru, besides other *huacas*, Old Peruvian gods discarded by the Incas, worshipped a Zarap-cono-pa, god of the maize, and a Papap-cono-pa, god of the potato. *Pa* is the Malay word for father, *ma* is the Malay word for mother, and occurs in the name Coco-mama, goddess of the cocoa plant. Cono then will be, in fact, a later form of the divine appellative *tuan*, *atua*, *akua*. Such guardian deities for the several species of plants are, essentially considered, genuinely Japanese (§ 269).

6. Finally, we are told of other Old Peruvian deities which under the Incas continued to be worshipped by the people in hidden way, or as tolerated, and which prove that the emanationistic multiplication of the divine Creator had led to regular polytheism. There was a thunder-god, Katequil, or Apo katequil, compounded with Mal. *api*, fire, or Tschaquilla, thunder, Katuilla, lightning, Inti-allapa, heaven's gleam, which according to the image representing it, one of the old sacred stones, is quite sufficiently proved to be Old Peruvian. His sister was the rain-goddess, whose name is not preserved, of whom, however, an old legendary song says that her wild brother, with the flash of his lightning, dashed her urn in pieces, so that the rain gushes out. (Comp. the *Obs.*) We learn the names of this rain-goddess from Japan (§ 269). Alongside of her wild brother there is the Japanese Tensio-daisin. A fire-god whose name is unknown is also distinguished

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 367.

by his stone image as Old Peruvian. Thunder or meteoric stones were supposed to have fallen from heaven, and that they operated as love-charms; just as in Japan aerolites were worshipped as *amatsakitsne*, heaven's foxes. Twins were regarded as sons of lightning (comp. the Mongolian legend of triplets of Alankava, § 266, begotten by a ray of light); and he to whom twins were born brought a thank-offering to the god Akutschukkaque, whose name corresponds to *akua Tschaquilla*, and means, therefore, the thunder-god.[1]

In Quito we hear about a god, Rimak, the speaker, who gave oracles. The magic forbidden by the Incas, but continued among the people, originated in the Old Peruvian religion. The Malay and Japanese-Mongolian worship of spirits was mixed up with it. The *huarellas* were at once hobgoblins and guardian spirits. Of like origin was the *huacapuillak*, a sort of higher order of oracle-priest who converses with the gods. The name is composed of the genitive of the Mal. *waka*, god, and *uillak*, part. act., from Peruvian *uilla*, to speak. Likewise the necromancer, *malquipuillak*, is derived from *mallki*, a corpse. The explanation of this latter name by means of *ajatacuc* must, on the other hand, be Japanese, since the root *cuc* is found again in the word *pacha-cuc*, shown by its first portion to be Japanese—he who tells the future by the movement of spiders. The *hacaricue* tell the future from guinea-pigs; the *hatschus*, from maize; the *moscoc*, from dreams. The *hantschas* or *ripnakmicuc* sought to destroy enemies by witchcraft. Finally, there was a special oracle-god for love affairs, who is met with under two names, Huacanki and Kuiankarani.[2] In Quito, again, an old god of health is spoken of, and along with him a god of war and vengeance.[3] The Incas had to contend against animal-worship.[4] The constellations were regarded by the Old Peruvians as symbols of the genera of animals; the animals

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 368 f.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 397.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 335.
[4] Montesinos and Lacroix in Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 365 f.

were taken as representatives of the corresponding constellations.

Obs.—An ancient prayer to the rain-goddess, of which the Peruvian text is given in Tschudi, *Die Ketshua-Sprache*, part ii. p. 68, is as follows:—

Fair Princess,
Thine urn
Thy brother has broken,
Even now into fragments.
From the blow
Noise and fire and
Lightnings proceeded.
Still, O Princess,
Thy moisture
Dispensing, thou rainest,
And all around
Thou makest it shower,
[And sometimes]
Thou sendest forth snow,
Pacharurac
Pachacamac
Wiracotscha.
For this function
Has determined thee
And made thee.

§ 288. *Religion and Traditions of the wild Aymara Tribes.*

If we are right in the reconstruction of the Old Peruvian religion as in the supposition that the Botocudos, Guaranis, Jurucares are degenerate Japanese-Aymaras, the traces of that religion will be found again among these tribes. And this also is the case, so far as one can expect such still to be traceable. The Mandshusicus in Paraguay, whose very name reminds us of the Mandshus, neighbours and relations of the Japanese, worshipped in one temple three gods, Urago sorisu, whom they also called Omegua turigni, Ura sana, and Ura po; and to them they presented food and drink offerings. Here we have really the Ataguchu of the Old Peruvians along with two other gods which he produces from himself. In Omegua the first two syllables are evidently the word *ąmu, ama*, father, mother, common to the Mongolian languages. Ura, however, is a divine appellative which we shall meet with again in the forms *juru, guru, taru*, and *tiri*, in other wild tribes of the Aymaras. It seems to be related to the Taara of the Ugro-Finnic tribes (§ 262). That with the Japąno-Mongols, the Mandshurians, neighbouring tribes made up of Mongols and Tartars, had migrated from the adjacent islands of Yesso, Tarakai, and the Kuriles, is indeed quite possible (§ 286), and just such Ugro-

Tartar tribes would have had the most decided tendency to nomadic dispersion. They took their religious conceptions and the ideas of their gods from the Japanese, the dominant race, but retained, besides, the use of the divine appellative *taru, juru, ura.* Thus *sor-isu* is certainly derived from the Ugrian *iso,* father; *po,* from the Ugrian *poeg,* son; *sana* might be connected with the Ugrian *asszonyi,* female, and mean woman. We find Ura again in the form of Taru among the Botocudos. They had borrowed the moon-worship from the Caribs; they called the moon Taru; the sun, Taru-pido; the thunder, *taru-decu-wong;* the lightning, *taru-demerang;* the wind, *taru-cuhu;* night, *taru-tatu.*[1] J. G. Müller concludes from this that they had ascribed thunder and lightning to the moon; but even these untutored people would see with their eyes that thunder and lightning, wind and night, were not derived from the moon. Taru means not moon, but god. They gave the title of god to the moon in a pre-eminent way. If, then, they designated the lightning as the glance of God, thunder as the rumbling noise of God, the wind as the breath of God, etc., these figurative expressions are a proof that, before the adoption of the Caribbean worship of the moon, they had known a God, to whose working the most diverse of natural phenomena were reduced. Finally, we find the name but not the nature of this Taru among the Jurukares in the form of Tiri. The Old Mongolian legend of the Child of the Sun, current in this tribe, has already been given in § 286. Around this legend of Ule[2] another now entwines itself,[3] in which we light upon significant reminiscences of the fall, the flood, and the building of Babel. Tiri, whom the legend regards as Ule's son, thus connecting him with the Ule legend, was lord of all nature, and so, evidently, according to its original conception, not the son of Ule, but the creator of the world. As he was quite alone, and longed for a friend, he created from the

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen,* p. 254.
[2] Compare the Turkish word *ulu,* great.
[3] Müller, *Urreligionen,* p. 267 ff. Andree, *Westl.* i. 335 ff.

nail of his great toe the first man, Karu. He begat children with a *hokko*, bird; but his son died (reminiscence of Abel), and he himself ate upon his grave a pistachio-nut against the command of Tiri, who had said to him that his son would be restored again to life should he keep from eating of that tree. When, nevertheless, he ate thereof, Tiri said to him: Thou hast been disobedient; for punishment, thou, together with all men, shall be mortal, and have suffering and toil. At Tiri's command Karu now ate a duck, which he vomited, and produced birds of all kinds. A spirit, Sararuma or Aïma-sunne, caused a "sin"-burning, a conflagration of the world. We have here a combination of the flood legend with the German legend of the world-burning of Surtur. (Compare also the fire-water in the one form of the flood legend of the Kolhs, § 274.) A single man was saved in a cave, and thrust out repeatedly a twig, which at first sank, but at last remained safe. From the cave went forth the various nations of the earth, evidently in the person of that one man, their first parent, the Mansinnos, Solortos, Quichuas,[1] Chiraguanos, etc. But when a man came out of the cave who wished to rule over all, Tiri closed the opening of the cave, and commanded the peoples to divide and populate the whole earth, and sowed strife among them. They fought against each other with darts, which fell down from the sun. The Jurukares traced their descent from the Mansinnos, whose name again reminds us of the Mandshurians. To the rainbow and the twilight they ascribe the origin of sicknesses.[2]

If we have admitted a mixture in those tribes of Mongolian and Ugro-Tartar blood, that is, a Mandshurian origin, we find in many other tribes of South America an extremely probable

[1] Quichua language, or Ketshua language, is the name with which the Peruvians describe their own tongue. The Jurukarian tradition, therefore, knew of the existence of a Ketshua people! A new feature is, that they sprang from Peru. That the Ketshua language was not introduced into the country by the Incas, but was already found by them in Peru, will be shown farther on.

[2] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 258.

mixture, with that Mongol and Ugro-Tartar blood also Malay and Bubu blood, which mixture is quite recognisable at all times in the conglomerate religion of such tribes. Besides the Malay Tapujas (§ 281) and the Mongol Guaranis (§ 286), we meet with the Tupiguaranis. Among the Botocudos we find, besides the Ugrian name of god, Taru, as already observed, the moon-worship derived from the neighbouring Caribbean Berber tribes, and particularly the name Hutscha for the sun-god,[1] which evidently is the Hudshus of the Caribs (§ 285). The Mandshusicus worshipped, besides those three Uras, also a water-god, presenting offerings of tobacco, which they represented with fishes in his hand. The Abipones worshipped a god of the tribe, Pilla.[2] This name is met with again among the Araucanians as a divine appellative for spirit, for they describe a thunder-god, Thalclave, as *guenu-pillan*, heaven's spirit.[3] That mixed race the Tupiguaranis feared an evil god, Iurupari (Goropari) or Aignan (Anacha, Anchanga, Anonga), who again essentially corresponds to Aharaigitschi (or Elel, or Kebet) of the Abipones.[4] His name reminds us of the Ainus who inhabit the island Yesso. Rude sculptures with the figures of serpents and other wild animals[5] on the one side (similar to those in the temple of Pachacamac, § 287), with figures of the moon on the other side, are found here and there on rocks in various districts of South America. The Caribbean custom, too, at eclipses of the moon, of frightening by a roaring noise the evil spirit who is strangling the moon, spread to the Abipones in Paraguay and even down to the Araucanians.[6] The latter, in keeping with this Malay-Mongolian sun-worship, have a similar practice on the occasion of eclipses of the sun; and while the Botocudos,

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 270.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 258 f.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 271.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 273 f.
[5] To this class belongs specially a pyramidal sanctuary in West Brazil, with a serpent deity in the tribe of the Wajakuru or Waikurs. Charlevoix, p. 131.
[6] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 255 ff.

Moluchos, etc., ascribe the origin of everything good to the sun, and the Aucas sprinkle the blood of slain game toward the sun, and the Dignits in Paraguay offer to him birds' feathers moistened with blood, in all this their mixed descent, be it Malay, be it Mongolian, be it both, is made quite evident, as well as the Caribbean descent or mixture among the Tapujas, who represent the maraca-bottle with an open mouth like a human head, honour the sun with an annual festival, and slay for him even men as sacrifices.[1] A trace of star-worship among the Tapujas, and down even to the Abipones, who regard the Pleiades as the dwelling-place of an evil spirit, give reverence to the constellation of the Great Bear, etc., seems to be of Caribbean, and therefore of African origin. When, on the other hand, the Guaranis speak of a god Tamoi, who taught their fathers agriculture, the cultivating of maize, and then went back into heaven,[2] this is nothing but a reminiscence of the apotheosized leader of the first troop of Japanese or Mandshurian immigrants into the East, who introduced the cultivation of maize among the early Malay inhabitants, and joined themselves with them. The more variegated this religious conglomerate appears, the more important does the fact become that traces of the old primitive monotheism in the most diversified reminiscences of the flood in particular should be found among all these tribes. In polytheism they part in various directions from one another, but the primitive religion and primitive tradition must have been the same among all the groups of races.

As concerns the early monotheism, to what has been already said I add the following. The Cœruas in Chapuro pray to one god, of whom they say that he created the sun, stars, wood, streams, and air.[3] The Araucanians have, besides other *pillas*, a *guen-pilla*, heaven's spirit, whom they call Guencubu or Villemooe, *pilla-mooe*, great spirit, who has created all things. *Pilla* seems to have been derived from *villa*, from that Old Peruvian

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 262 f. [2] *Ibid.* p. 266.
[3] Martius, *brasil. Reise*, iii. 1202.

word that means to speak (§ 287). The Araucanians use the word still as an appellative. Among the Abipones it had come to be used in a polytheistic sense as the proper name of an individual, and indeed of an evil god or spirit. As concerns the legends of the flood, that of the Araucanians has been already reported (§ 281). Various other Brazilian tribes tell of a flood that overwhelmed the whole of mankind, from which only the wise old man Ta-manduare with his sister were saved. The supreme god had instructed to wait for the flood in a boat, or, according to another version which has got mixed up with this one, into a hollow palm. He begot children with his sister,—that is a thoroughly Inca-like feature,—and so replenished the earth.[1] In Tamanduare, *ta*, just as in *tamaraca*, is a contraction for *taru*, god, divine; and in Manduare we again meet with the name Manu.

§ 289. *The Empire of the Muyscas and their Religion.*

From the midst of a motley crowd of wild Malay, Japano-Mongolian, and Caribbean tribes, and of tribes in which all three were mingled on the higher reaches of the Orinoco and on the river Magdalena, the Europeans found to their amazement in the highlands of Bogota the cultured race of the Muyscas.[2] This people, forming two organized States, dwelt between the river Magdalena and the tributary stream the Cauca, in what is now called the Cundinamarca province of New Granada. Over against the hill country of the wild tribes they were shut off and secured by an almost impassable ravine, in which the stream formed the beautiful waterfall of Tequendana, but on all other sides by the mountains. A dense population carried on the cultivation of maize and potatoes. They wore dresses of cotton, which they were able to spin, weave, and dye in a variety of beautiful colours. They also produced fine goldsmith work, and indeed procured gold, as it was not

[1] Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 266 ff.

[2] For sources of information regarding what follows, see Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 421 ff.

found in their own land, by trading, receiving it in exchange for rock salt. They manufactured elegant vessels and images from clay. They possessed a standing army. They had also a very artificially constructed calendar, with a sacerdotal year of thirty-seven months, a civil year of twenty months, and an agricultural year of twelve or thirteen months. These latter months, therefore, were evidently lunar months, as in the Old Peruvian empire, since there was sometimes a thirteenth month intercalated. The intercalations, by means of which they always brought again the three different sort of years into harmony, show, according to Alex. von Humboldt, a striking resemblance to the intercalary systems of the East-Asiatic cultured races. They possessed a calendar stone with hieroglyphic signs. This picture writing, too, has its parallel in the Old Peruvian empire. While the Incas in the New Peruvian empire had introduced a yearly distribution of cultivated land, because regarded as State property, the social economy of the Muyscas was in this particular like that of the Old Peruvian empire, the lands being viewed as private property and passing down to descendants by heritage, and a feudal hereditary nobility having a place among them (comp. the *daimios* in Japan). In view of all this, and in view of their language related to the Japanese (§ 286), we are justified in considering the people a branch of that Old Japano-Mongolian immigration to which the Old Peruvian empire also owed its origin. In the well-protected asylum of their mountain valley, this branch was able to maintain itself for a longer period than the Old Peruvian. The civil constitution of Muyscas, too, reminds us of Old Peru, and at the same time of Japan. There were two States, each under a king, who was chosen by four elector princes. This independence of the two States, and again that of the elector princes in them, reminds us of the *curacas* of Old Peru; but when we are told that one of the kings who was in Tundsha bore the title Zake, and that the other in Bogota bore the title Zippa, we find in this latter name a remarkable resemblance

to the Japanese field-marshal title Dshubo. In order to make the analogy more complete, there was in the State Tundsha alongside of the Zake a spiritual chief who resided in Iraka,[1] and held, as it seems, a hereditary office. Thus the constitution at Tundsha corresponded perfectly to that of the Japanese, as it was in early times, before the 12th century, before the Dshubo had taken to himself the power of the Dairi. In Bogota, on the other hand, a similar process seems to have been carried out as in Japan, the spiritual king having been overthrown; since then we hear only of the Zippa.

The Muyscas have a tradition in regard to the founding of their empire, which tells that Huncahua (Hunkahwa) led them into the land, founded the empire, and built the city Tundsha, originally called Hunca, overran the surrounding districts, reigned for 250 years, and had 200 wives. The syllable *hwa* sounds exactly like the öldest name of Japan (§ 269), and what is told of the number of wives (even if perhaps the number be exaggerated) agrees with the national lustfulness and wantonness of the Japanese.[2]

The religious traditions of the Muyscas are nothing else than a tertiary construction of the Wiracotscha legend of the Old Peruvians, at the foundation of which there already lies the secondary identification of the hero of the flood, Wiracotscha, with the creator of the world, Pachacamac. The hero of this legend of the Muyscas is called Botschika; a name which cannot be traced back to its source with any certainty. Whether this name is derived by modification or abbreviation from Pachacamac (Patschacamak), or by change of consonants from the latter part of Wiracotscha with a suffix added, we cannot confidently determine. In respect of sound the former is more probable. The tradition runs thus: When as yet the moon had not been

[1] In the province of Muts in Japan there is a city called Sirakawa. Names of cities that end in *ka* are common in Japan; *e.g.* Takosuka, Tanaka, Morioka, Marnoka, Nagooka, etc.

[2] Stuhr, *Religion des Orients*, p. 48.

created, the chasm of the Tequendana was still closed, the Muyscas lived wild in the land without agriculture, religion, morals, and civil constitution. The name Muyscas here seems to be an appellative for man: at its foundation lies the old primitive root, in Sanscrit *manu, manuscha*, in Iranian *meschia*. Then from the east there appeared a bearded old man, Botschika, who had three heads,—this at once characterizes him as the emanationistic threefold god of the Old Peruvians and Mandshusicus. He is called Nemquetheba and Zuhé, which seem to have attributive names. He had a wife Huithaka, or Tschia, or Iubecaiguaja; and he taught those wild men to clothe themselves, to cultivate the fields, and worship the gods. His beautiful but wicked wife, however, defeated all his endeavours, and caused the Funzha river, the Rio de Bogota, the river Magdalena, to overflow the whole land. Here we have a greatly defaced reminiscence of the fall of the first mother of our race combined with an equally defaced reminiscence of the flood.[1] Only a few men were able to flee to the top of the mountains. In anger Botschika changed his wife into the moon, and gave a passage to the water in the waterfall of Tequendana. He called together the men that were saved, introduced sun-worship, with priests and festivals, appointed a spiritual and a secular chief as heads of the State, taught the calendar, and withdrew after 1000 years' presence under the name of Idacanza (comp. Ataguchu). The legend of the flood has here a form which, considered in itself alone, would frame the idea that it was a reminiscence of a local submersion. If, however, we consider that in Botschika we have quite evidently the Wiracotscha who has been already identified with Pachacamac-Ataguchu, and that the consciousness still evidently existing in Old Peru of the deity of that Pachacamac-Ataguchu and his character

[1] It is characteristic of J. G. Müller that he should here find a cosmogonic myth *à la* Thales, of the origin of the earth from water. But in the legend men existed before the flood. This does not quite sound like a cosmogonic myth.

as creator of the world has been so completely transferred to the Botschika legend of the Muyscas, that only the three heads along with the name Idacanza, and probably also the name Botschika,[1] lead us to recognise that old god in Botschika, it will be immediately apparent that here we have before us a later, a tertiary form of the Wiracotscha legend, which must be explained from the Old Peruvian as that which lies at the basis of the older tradition. Seeing then that the Old Peruvian evidently contains the idea of a flood, this idea by the process of localizing has been completely narrowed by the Muyscas, as may also be seen from the localizing attempt to put the recession of the waters in connection with the waterfall.[2]

The knowledge of the one invisible creator of the world had died out among the Muyscas before the time when the first Europeans came into contact with them; and of the Old Japanese religion, as this appeared in the Old Peruvian empire, there remained among them only the polytheistic sun and moon worship. They had a temple with a multitude of images of the gods, an organized priesthood, a festival cycle

[1] The change of *p* in Pachacamac into *b* in Botschika is similar to the change of *t* in Ataguchu to *d* in Idacanza. The modification of *ch* into *z* has again an analogy in the modification of the *dsh* of *dshubo* into *z* in Zippa.

[2] Similar localizings are to be found elsewhere. Thus Caspaya, a grandson of Brahma, in Thibet, provided for the flood an outlet by the chasm of Baramulla; so in China, Yao (§ 268) drains off the flood by the Chinese rivers; so among the Greeks, Poseidon lets the waters flow through the vale of Tempe; among the Egyptians, Menes does this by the Nile. Among the Alemanni of Switzerland, Chriemhildeli or Breneli stopped the outflow of the Tyrlee lake, and so occasioned the flood, but as a punishment was transposed into the Glärnisch, into the glacier Brenelisgärtli. As the mountain where the ship landed, or whereon the survivors took refuge, every people fixed upon a mountain of the country in which they dwelt. But just the circumstance that only the localized names differed, while the idea of the flood, the escape of few, the arriving on a mountain, the beginning of a disappearance and dispersion of the flood by valleys and beds of streams, the sons numbering three, the raven being sent out, recurring among the most diverse peoples, must distinctly prove to every thinking man that there is a reminiscence common to the whole human race of an occurrence experienced by their common ancestors, which in the traditions of particular groups and tribes assumed only at a later period a localized form.

of fifteen years, offerings, processions, fasts. Every fifteen years there was a great principal festival, celebrated with a human offering. At the beginning of a cycle a child, a little boy, would be chosen in a particular village, which is now called St. Juan de los Llanos, taken from his parents, and brought up as *qucsa*, the wanderer, that is, homeless, or *quihika*, door or passage from the old cycle to the new, in the temple of the sun in Saga-mozo, then brought to different places, through which he should be led as Botschika. In the fifteenth year of his age, and therefore at the beginning of a new cycle, he was led to a round place in front of the pillars of the sun. The *shhequcs*, priests, follow him, masked to represent Botschika with his wives and descendants. The youth was then firmly bound to the pillars, his heart, pierced through with spears, was torn from his body, and the blood caught in sacred vessels. The Europeans, however, found traces among the Muyscas of another religion which had been introduced from Central America, where we shall meet with remains of it, at no very early period, but, at farthest, during the immediately preceding centuries.

One of the idols of the Muyscas is called Fomagata, and it is told of this god that he rushed through the air as the spirit of fire, changed men into beasts, was a hateful tyrant, and was overthrown by Botschika. This latter feature shows us that the Fo-Magata religion was not able to get a footing among the Muyscas, but by means of a reaction of the old national religion was set aside again, or at least restricted within such limits that Fo-Magata was degraded into a single, subordinate, and undoubtedly evil god. J. G. Müller assumes that naturally Fo-Magata should be taken for a sun-god, and his wife worshipped in Nicaragua as Sipal-tonal for the moon-goddess, although not even the least evidence of this can be adduced. Fo is the Chinese-Mongolian name of Buddha,[1]

[1] That the names Fomagastad (so it is given in Nicaragua) and Sipal-tonal cannot be explained from the Aztec language is admitted by Buschmann (*azt. Ortsnamen*, p. 769 f.).

and *magata, magasta,* is a corrupt form of *mahadeo,* for the forms of Fo and of Mahadeo Siva, who appears in the hybrid Sipal-tona (from Siva and the Aztec *tona,* heat, glow), pass confusedly from one to another.[1] The correctness of this explanation is confirmed by the fact that in Ushmal in Yucatan an image of the Buddha was found with his legs folded under him,[2] which agrees exactly with the Indian images of Buddha, just as the images of Siva standing in niches are exactly like those in the Buddha temple of Java. As it is admitted that the Siva-worship and Siva legends in later Buddhism in Further India, in China, and in Japan, got mixed up with the Buddha legends into an indissoluble knot (comp. § 271), surely in this fourth layer of the Buddhist religion the predicate *mahadeo,* great god, might have been transferred to the Buddha, unconditionally placed superior to Siva. Thus might Fo himself, the Buddha, be represented as the fire-spirit, and the glowing-god Siva be placed alongside of him as his wife (Sipal-tonal). Since the Buddha-worship first began in earnest to spread in Eastern Asia during the 10th century after Christ (§ 265), it can have first reached America only by means of a later immigration, in no case by that of the Japano-Aymares in B.C. 100.

Obs.—Among the wild tribes dwelling around the Muyscas traces are found on every hand of an earlier Baal and Astarte worship. On the isthmus of Veragua the Doratshos wandered about, the men naked, the women with a hip-cloth, the latter engaging in a little field labour. They were not only addicted to unnatural vice, but had regular *kinäden* (Müller, p. 418), which must be explained from that influence of the Phœnician religion that had made itself felt in Central America (§ 284). A granite pillar, which depicts a flaming sun-head, reminds us of the Baal-worship. In Nicaragua there was a god of unnatural vice, Tschin. That the people had sunk from an early rank of culture is proved by the pillars and sculptures, with an ancient picture writing, which is quite different from the Mexican

[1] As the *b* in Dshubo has been hardened into the *pp* of Zippa, so is the *v* of Siva into the *p* of Sipal, and the *h* and *d* of Mahadeo into *g* and *t*.

[2] Copied in Paravey, *l'Amérique,* Paris 1844.

writing as well as from that of Central America. The tombs contain well-wrought vases. When a chief died, then his wives were buried along with him. The recurrence of darkness was accounted for by the Doratshos by an old quarrel between the sun and the moon. On the Rio Negro were settled the Maripizanos and Mariwilanos, and on the upper parts of the Orinoco the Gwaipunabis. Next to the Muyscas, and going quite naked, were the Pantshos; on the Rio Grande were the Dabaibas, and west of Bogota the Pupoyans, both of whom went quite naked. On the Orinoco, too, are found sculptures of sun, moon, serpents, tigers. Alex. von Humboldt discovered those two rocks which, under the names Kamosi, almost identical with the Semitic Chemosh (§ 252) and Keri, were worshipped as the sun and moon. The Dabaibas worshipped a mother of the gods, whom they called Dabaiba, to whom they ascribed the showers and changes of weather.

§ 290. *The Old Cultured Races of Central America.*

That in Central America, in Guatemala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, Yucatan, and Honduras, an old cultured people had their residence, is proved by a series of immense ruins. Of the people themselves, however, their history and religion, we have scarcely any other information than that which may be gathered from these remains. In Pallenque in Chiapa ruins of a great city, Otolum, are found (described by Dupaix, Alex. von Humboldt, Stephens, etc.). There among others is a palace of 130 feet high, 950 feet long, and 590 feet wide; the east front has fourteen doors each 13 feet wide, between which stand pillars with beautiful bass-reliefs. The stones are bound together with lime, covered over with plaster, and then painted. Remains of vaults show a kind of pointed arch. Even solid aqueducts are found. There are similar ruins in Okosingo. To the south of that, in Guatemala, and to the east, in Yucatan, the remains of forty-four greater and smaller towns were discovered by John Stephens and the Spanish Colonel Galindo, and have been described by Stephens[1]

[1] John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapa, and Yucatan*, London 1842, 2 vols., with maps. *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, London 1843, 2 vols., with 120 plates.

and Catherwood.[1] There are remains of pyramidal temples, towers, palaces, sepulchral mounds, artificial caves. Especially in Yucatan, of Uxmal or Itztalana, with a stone pyramid and a palace, called the house of the governor. But in Guatemala we have that of Mitlan,[2] in Oashhaga, consisting of a temple with insulated pillars and a fortress; those of Utatlan, a citadel-like palace, a seminary building with cells for 6000 scholars; those of the city of Tehuantepec, a pyramidal temple hewn out of the living rock; those of Atitlan, Shhillotepec, Mishhko, Guirigua, Quiche, and Quesaltenango. Then there are in the district of Peten the ruins of Tikal, discovered by Ambrosio Tut and Colonel Mendez in 1848, and described by Hesse; and of Ishkum and Ishkuz, in the Indian city called by the Spaniards Dolores, and destroyed in 1695. These ruins show groups of magnificent building upon natural hills, which are terraced and provided with hanging stairs, and there are also attempts at the construction of arches.[3] In Honduras there are at Copan the remains of a city, and of a temple ornamented with statues, and the temple mound Tibulco. In Nicaragua, Squier[4] discovered a number of antiquities, mostly pyramidal mounds, at the foot of which, as in Copan, there stood images of the gods.

When these rich discoveries are examined more closely, it becomes absolutely certain that not one of these ruins is of Aztec origin. The Aztecs, entering Mexico from the north about A.D. 1300, had their little chapels on truncated solid pyramids,

[1] F. Catherwood, *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapa, and Yucatan*, London 1844, with 26 plates. F. V. Waldeck has conducted explorations in Yucatan, *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province de Yucatan*, 1834–1836, London and Paris 1838.

[2] What still remains is described by F. Ratzel, *Aus Mexico*, p. 274 ff. He thinks that it is proved by the polished and painted plaster, and also by the porphyry sculptures on the walls, that the building proceeds neither from the Zapotecs nor from the Aztecs. The style of building is precisely the same as in Otolum.

[3] Thus the Indians designate the place. This would mean in the Maya language ruined house. In the Aztec language, too, *calli* means a house.

[4] E. G. Squier, *Nicaragua*, London 1852, 2 vols.

and in these were the images of their gods. The pyramids of Central America are not truncated, and have mostly passages and chambers in the inside of them, and the images of the gods stand down in front of the pyramids, just as the pillars stand before the pyramids in the Old Peruvian ruins. The Aztec sculptures there are far ruder; in the profile heads the eye stands *en face*, the figures are stiff, the features without expression; while the figures of Central America are free, bold, almost noble in form, and their features express individual characteristics.[1] In Central America, again, are found not merely pyramids, but also besides actual temples, which are roofed and arched like those of the Incas in Peru, a style of building of which the Aztecs knew nothing.

We must now pass to the positive question as to what people those antiquities belong to. Here we find various characteristics appearing which point to several entirely different peoples. In Uxmal, naked statues are found; in Nicaragua not only this, but besides this, the generative organs are represented in a way that indicates undoubtedly the practice of phallus and linga worship.[2] It is significant that beside these statues, smaller rudely-wrought naked figures of a similar kind were also found in the ruins of the cities, evidently idols for private use, showing how deeply that impure religion had penetrated among the people. If, then, we take with this the traces found in § 289, *Obs.*, of the development of the worship of Astarte down to the 16th and 17th centuries among the wild Indian tribes most closely adjoining Nicaragua on the south, as well as the plain indications of a Phœnician or Punic colony with its Moloch-worship on the island of Carolina (§ 284), the whole combined will necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Astarte-worship with its revolting ceremonies, issuing forth from this colony to the neighbouring

[1] Squier, *Nicaragua*, vol. i. p. 293 ff. *Ausland*, 1840, No. 181 f.
[2] Stephens, *Incidents of Travel*. Müller, *Urreligionen*, p. 544.

parts of Yucatan, pushed its way farther along with Phœnician or Punic culture into Nicaragua. Were they Africans who made up the population of those regions? Or have Punic tribes, more exactly Libyans, along with their culture introduced their abomination into a Malay race which was already in possession of the land? The hieroglyphics on these monuments might perhaps at once give information on this subject if only we could succeed in interpreting them. The ruins of Pallenque (Otolum), Ocosingo, and Uxmal have the most perfect similarity one to another in style and mode of building. Upon them are found, especially in Pallenque, various sorts of picture writing. On the ruins of Tikal[1] we meet with written characters which look like alphabetical writing. Such writing might be developed under Phœnicio-Punic influence, but also might be developed from a picture writing of East-Asiatic origin.

There is, however, another series of indications which point to a people of Japanese origin, related to the Muyscas and Old Peruvians. The ruins of Copan, Guirigua, Atitlan, etc., in short, those along the west coast, are not of that vast and enormous style which reminds us of the Egyptian and Phœnician building. We find there, on the other hand, pillars of the sun with altars in front, which are quite like those on Titicaca and among the Muyscas. In Pallenque and Uxmal, again, we have sun discs, representing a face with tongue hanging out. Clay vessels, too, are found, which are strikingly like those of the Muyscas. Seeing, then, that a picture writing was found in Old Peru, but in Central America various sorts of picture writing, the conjecture is reasonable that one of these latter might be similar or related to the Old Peruvian writing, a point which is deserving of more careful investigation. The sculptures, too, of serpents and tigers, which are found in Guatemala, remind us of the Old Peruvian sculptures of the temple of Pachacamac; while, on the other hand, in the

[1] Buschmann, *aztec Ortsnamen*, 1852, p. 723.

artificial caves an element might be discovered of the religion of the early Malay inhabitants.

How these various elements have been mingled in the cultured people or cultured peoples of Central America, who can tell? Just here in this tripartite isthmus the various layers of immigrants crowded one after another, and remained on the two peninsulas of Yucatan and Honduras as if hemmed in and piled one over another in a blind alley. There are also evident traces of immigrations of a later date than that of the Old Japanese. Buddhism had secured an entrance into China and Japan (§ 265) as early as A.D. 600, but scarcely obtained a position worthy of mention before A.D. 900 or 1000. But no traces of Buddhist influences are found in the Old, nor yet even in the New Peruvian empire. This Old Japanese immigration has been already unconditionally placed before A.D. 900, and must undoubtedly have been before A.D. 600; and as, according to § 286, it must be set unconditionally after B.C. 209, we may with probability assign it to B.C. 100. In Central America, however, alongside of the traces which the Africans have left, and alongside of those which these Old Japanese colonists have left, are found evident traces of Buddhist influence, which could have originated only from an East-Asiatic tribe which first reached America after A.D. 1000. We shall find these traces of Buddhist religion widely spread throughout Mexico. In Central America not only does the fact of their existence afford indubitable evidence that at the time of its discovery the worship of Fo-magata and of Sipal-tonal was generally prevalent (and in these we recognise, according to § 289, the Fo Mahadeo and Siva the glowing), but also that conventual seminary building in Utatlan, with its cells for 60 teachers and 6000 scholars, appears as like to a Buddhist seminary as one egg is to another. What then this immigration people, which introduced Buddhism, may have been, is a question the answer to which must not here be anticipated.

It is closely connected with the investigation into the various successive immigrations into Mexico, those of the Olmecs, the Toltecs, the Chichimecs, the Acolhuans, and the Nahuatls, and thus introduces us to the subject of the next division.

D.—Chinese Immigration of A.D. 650. The Toltecs and the Incas.

§ 291. *Historical Traditions of the Aztecs.*

When Ferdinand Cortez discovered Mexico, the cultured race of the Aztecs were in possession of the country as rulers, along with several other fragments of peoples, governing a large and well-organized empire. According to their own historical tradition, they had first, three centuries before, along with six other closely related tribes, the Nahuatls, migrated from the north. They possessed also a very complete tradition in regard to a series of other peoples who had in succession to one another inhabited Mexico before them.

1. This historical tradition is contained first of all in hieroglyphic pictures, of which, however, it must be remarked that this picture writing was not phonetic, as in the case of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, where each sign represented a sound like a letter of the alphabet, but realistic, so that occurrences as such were depicted by means of a regularly fixed symbolism for recurring historical ideas,[1] and chronological dates were added in the form of signs from the calendar.[2] These hieroglyphs existed in great part in books, manufactured partly from deer-skin parchment, partly from Agave bark (*metl*), scarcely a hand in breadth, and artistically folded. There was a rich literature, which, however, was in

[1] *E.g.* a mountain with a tongue meant a mountain with an active volcano, a head with a dart through it meant a death sentence, footprints meant a street, etc.

[2] Alex. von Humboldt gives complete information on this point in his *Vues des Cordillères.*

great measure destroyed by the fanaticism of the Spaniards. Fragmentary remains still exist in the National Museum of Mexico, in the library of the Escurial, in Rome, Bologna, Oxford, Vienna, Dresden, Berlin.[1] But these picture writings could have been deciphered only by means of knowledge traditionally transmitted. By this time such knowledge has utterly disappeared from among the Mexican Indians. In the 16th and 17th centuries the meaning of a portion of those picture writings was rendered in Roman letters into Spanish or into the Aztec language. But all these sources, as already Gallatin has rightly insisted,[2] form a very poor, and not at all very trustworthy fountain from which to draw information. Of a singularly rich literature, only a small fragment has by accident been preserved, without the exercise of any critical skill in the selection; of this only a small part has been deciphered; the deciphering has been done partly at a very recent time, and is therefore precarious; and finally, amid a wilderness of private notes about boundaries and landmarks, processes, etc., only a few historical statements occur, and these often of a purely legendary kind.

2. This historical tradition was also contained in orally communicated songs, which had once been taught in the schools of the Aztec empire, which, however, have now been closed for centuries.[3] From these Clavigero, Sahagun, and Ixtilxocuitl[4] compiled their account written in the Spanish tongue. Buschmann puts all these sources in the lump, and ascribes to them great value and credibility, but finds himself obliged to confess[5] that not the least agreement prevails

[1] A collection and fac-similes are given in Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*, 9 folio vols., London 1830–1848.

[2] Gallatin, *Ethnol. Soc.*

[3] Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 3 vols., London 1843, i. 97. Buschmann, p. 657.

[4] Clavigero, *Storia antigua del Messico*, Cesena 1780. Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, Mex. 1829. Ixtilxocuitl in Kingsborough's *Antiquities*.

[5] Buschmann, *aztek Ortsnamen*, p. 658 ff.

among the chroniclers just named, that passing from Clavigero to Sahagun, one finds himself transferred into an almost new world, and that it is impossible from these contradictory reports to reproduce a chronology. Alex. von Humboldt has likewise attempted to gather the threads, and we will conscientiously report the conclusions reached by him.

The oldest inhabitants of the land, of whom the Aztecs knew scarcely more than the name, were the Olmecs, by whom undoubtedly the early Malay inhabitants were meant. Thereafter, about 922 years before the landing of Cortez, therefore about A.D. 596, according to another account A.D. 544, a race of Toltecs made their appearance from a country lying to the north-west, which the Aztecs designate by an Aztec appellative *huehue-tla-pallan*, Old Red Land; about A.D. 700, according to another account about A.D. 648, they came to Tollantzinco; in A.D. 720 or A.D. 670 they founded the city Tula, and chose their first king, Tanub. Ixtilxocuitl, however, relates in addition the not unimportant fact that the Toltecs, driven from their native country, after a long sea voyage reached the coasts of California, and arrived at Huehue Kapallan in A.D. 387. They seem to have been a peaceful, mild, cultured people, living under laws, cultivating maize and nursery gardens, doing work in gold and silver, and skilled in the cutting of precious stones, and in sculpture and architecture. The pyramids of Cholula and Teotihuacan were built by them. The later inhabitants were indebted to them for the calendar and the picture writing. They had the same language as the Aztecs, who, according to Ixtilxocuitl, came into the country in A.D. 1178, or about 500 years later than the Toltecs. Nine kings ruled the empire in succession, each of them reigning for an immensely long period. Then, however, they suffered from famine; drought and disease decimated the people, according to Ixtilxocuitl in A.D. 959, according to Alex. von Humboldt in A.D. 1052, according to Bustamente in A.D. 1116, according to Sahagun in A.D. 1200,

and the remnants of the race were driven southward toward Nicaragua.

A hundred years after the overthrow of the Toltecs' empire, in A.D. 1170, or, according to Ixtilxocuitl, as early as A.D. 963, a wild hunting race, the Chichimecs, their fatherland lying to the north in Amaquemeca, according to Ixtilxocuitl, Chicomostoc, made their appearance under a King Xolotl, subdued the remnants of the Toltecs, founded first Tenuyaca, then Tescuco. Soon afterwards they were succeeded by the Acolhuacs, according to Sahagun, one of the tribes belonging to the Nahuatl group, and were mixed up with them, the whole mixed race being called Acolhuacs, though the ruling family still belonged to the Chichimecs. A portion of the Chichimecs, however, that did not mingle with the Acolhuacs, settled west of Mexico, where there is still a tribe bearing the name of Chichmecs.

Finally, in A.D. 1178, the Nahuatls, under six chiefs, embracing the tribes of the Shochimilcs, Chalcs, Tepanecs, Colhuacs,[1] Tlahuics, and Tlascaltecs, made their entrance; and somewhat later, according to Humboldt about A.D. 1196, the seventh and mightiest, that of the Aztecs, appeared, which in A.D. 1325 founded the city Tenochtitlan, from *te*, stone, and *noch* the nopal plant, or Mexico, from *Mexitl*, the god of war. The after history of the Aztecs will occupy our attention at a later point. Their account of the Toltecs must meanwhile form the subject of our investigation.

§ 292. *Criticism of the Aztec Tradition.*

What the Aztecs report in the form of history first assumes the character of clearness, certainty, and reliableness when

[1] On the question whether these Colhuacs were identical with those Acolhuacs, see Buschmann, p. 689 ff. If Buschmann is undoubtedly right in rendering *acolhuacan* by water-colhuacs, the two would most certainly be racially related. And in fact *a* means in Aztec water. In all these names *ac* or *ec* is a genitive ending: the stem of the name Acolhuac is *colhu*. It has no etymological connection with Malay *waka* and Old Peruvian *huaca*.

we reach the period of the immigration of the Nahuatls. This is what might naturally be expected, since every people will have more reliable sources of information for their own history than for the history of people who have had possession of the country before them, especially when there have been three layers of such peoples in succession to one another. The Aztecs came into no sort of contact with the Toltecs. Ixtilxocuitl maintains that it was not a hundred years, but only four years after the decay of the empire of the Toltecs that the Chichimecs succeeded them. In this contention he is right, for it is much more probable that the Toltec empire was directly destroyed by the wild Chichimecs, than that the desirable country had remained uninhabited for a century. But even then, between the overthrow of the Toltecs in A.D. 1000 and the arrival of the Aztecs, almost a century must have intervened, and the first people with whom the remnants of the subjugated Toltecs were mingled was the rude, wild Chichimecs. A turn for history first showed itself among the Acolhuacs.

We nevertheless regard the account of the Toltecs as in the main historical. Then, besides the ambiguous remains of the picture writing and the traditions given by Fernando de Alva Ixtilxocuitl, a descendant of the kings of Tescuco, certainly transmitted by faithful family accounts, we have yet a third source of information in the monuments and ruins in the land of Mexico. The pyramid of Cholula, on the Mexican table-land, 580 feet high, 4667 feet wide, with a temple on the top of it, shows by its non-Aztec name, Churultecal (for the Aztec language has no *r*), that it is pre-Aztec. The legend in Ixtilxocuitl assigns it, indeed, to the Olmecs; the Chichimecan legend[1] assigns it to the hero of the flood, Xelhua,—an evident proof that the Chichimecs were conscious that the pyramid was there before them. Of a similar kind are the two pyramids at a place to which the Aztecs give the Aztec name of Teotihuacan, from *teo*, god, and

[1] In Alex. von Humboldt, *Monum.* xxiv. 31.

huaca, dwelling, which are dedicated to the sun and the moon, the larger being about 590 feet high. Then there is the pyramid with steps at Papantla, with a great principal stair and numerous corner stairs, made of carefully wrought blocks of porphyry, and found in a district first conquered by the Aztecs shortly before A.D. 1518. There is also the *casa grande* on Rio Gila;[1] the ruins of a palace 1377 feet long and 852 feet wide, strewn with fragments of pottery, partly azure blue, partly white, or glazed in other colours. The building contained five saloons of 85 feet long by 33 broad. Similar ruined cities are found between Gila and Colorado in the land of the Moquis, also in the province of Durango and elsewhere. It must, however, be expressly stated that these cities may be of Aztec origin; while, on the other hand, those pyramids are undoubtedly earlier than the time of the Chichimecs.

We have a further witness in the Mexican calendar. This corresponds with the calendars of the provinces of Central America, which were never subject to the Aztecs. The astronomical symbols and hieroglyphic signs for the day on the ruins of Uxmal (§ 290) are identical with the Mexican, and among the latter we meet with the monkey and the tiger, which are not native to California.[2]

If, then, in opposition to Gallatin's hypercriticism, we assume the existence of an earlier race than the Chichimecs, that is, the existence of the Toltecs, and willingly admit the vacillating character of the chronology, we may venture to place the arrival of the Toltecs in Mexico somewhere about A.D. 650 or 700. We must at the same time vigorously protest,

[1] See Arricivita's description in Buschmann, *aztek Ortsnamen*, p. 666 f.

[2] The Aztec name of the month from 15th Dec. till 3rd Jan., *atemozli*, coming down of waters, should lead us to think of their northern home, since during that month it does not rain in Mexico. But J. G. Müller calls attention to this, that the Aztecs, according to Clavigero, i. 430, just during this dry month celebrated a festival in which they pray for rain, for the coming down of the waters, and after this festival the month seems to be named. It by no means follows that they must have brought with them that calendar from the north country, where it rains in December.

with Gallatin, against the credulity that accepts unquestionably the statement that this ancient race spoke a language the same as, or at least nearly related to, that of the Aztecs. We are here in the fortunate position of being able to cite Buschmann against Buschmann in our behalf. This thorough linguist, in his laborious investigations regarding the Sonora languages,[1] has proved—1. That the tribes of the Cahitas, Tarahumars, Coras, and Tepeguanas in the Mexican provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora, and Guadalajara, tribes which were before designated Chichimecs, and partly are to this day called Chichimecs, spoke and speak languages which have an extraordinary number of words in common with the Aztec language, but distinguished from one another by a variety of dialectic peculiarities, and by that process of linguistic degradation (§ 279) separated into so many different languages. 2. That the same primitive relationship between one another and with the Aztec language and supplementary diversity are found in the languages of the Wihinasht, Soshones, Yutahs, and Moquis to the north of the river Gila in New Mexico, and Yutah, and down to California, as well as elsewhere among the Comantshes in Texas (comp. § 297, *Obs.*). We shall not, therefore, be able to doubt that in all these tribes we have before us descendants of the Chichimecs. But now, greatly as the entire group of these Chichimec languages varies from the Nahuatl or Aztec group, Ixtilxocuitl,[2] not without reason, but rather with very much to support his position, considered the Chichimec as one of the various Aztec dialects, just as at the present time one might speak of the Dutch as one of the various German languages. Buschmann himself goes indeed still farther. He is inclined, though not without some vacillation and hesitation, to the view that that Sonora family of languages was radically and entirely different from the Nahuatl languages, and that the Sonora peoples had appropriated as foreign terms those numerous words only from

[1] *Abh. der Berl. Akad. d. W. von* 1854, 2 Supplem. Bd.
[2] See in Buschmann, *aztek Ortsnamen*, p. 686.

Nahuatls wandering amongst them and coming into contact with them. Although for good reasons (see *Obs.* 1) we cannot go so far, yet we keep in view the fact of the diversity of the Chichimec and the Nahuatl languages. If then, however, the Chichimec and Nahuatl languages, in spite of the proved racial connection and chronological as well as geographical adjacency of the two national groups in their successive immigrations, had been so differently constructed that it required first the laborious researches of Buschmann in order to discover only a general relationship of roots between the two, how will one then affirm that the nation of the Toltecs, that migrated into Mexico 500 years earlier, had spoken the same language as the Aztecs! Granted that the Toltecs were racially connected with the Aztecs, and therefore originally also linguistically related,[1] still surely between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1170 the languages of the two would go much farther apart from one another than the languages of the Chichimecs and Aztecs, or according to Buschmann, the roots common to both by borrowing, would between A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1200. Where, then, are the positive proofs of the asserted sameness or similarity of the languages? It may be said[2] that the Toltecs in the migrations carried books with them, wherein they gave an account of their movements from year to year. Ixtilxocuitl mentions such books; and although no European eye has ever seen any of them,[3] we have no reason to doubt that in the time of Ixtilxocuitl, about A.D. 1600, certain remnants of the Toltec literature may have been still in existence. But seeing that they contained no phonetic hieroglyphs, they prove nothing in regard to the Toltec language. Ixtilxocuitl also tells of a Toltec book, to which he gives the Aztec name of *teomoxtli*, book of God, of which he is able to report that it had been written in the end of the

[1] We shall find farther on that both at least belonged to the great Mongolian group.

[2] Alex. von Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, i. 204.

[3] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, i. 11.

7th century by a Toltec astrologer, Huematzin, in the city of Tescuco. That city, however, was founded by the Chichimecs not earlier than A.D. 1100. This book, we are also told, treated of cosmogony, chronology, history, mythology, and morals. According to others,[1] who corrected the error about the city just referred to, the book was composed about A.D. 660 or A.D. 708, in the Toltec city of Tula. But even if such a book did exist, as we doubt not it did, and if it really were of Toltec origin, as we very much doubt, and not rather Acolhuan, in which case Tescuco might suit as the place of its issue, and even if a picture writing discovered by Waldeck[2] were, as he thinks, the Teomoxtli, these non-phonetic hieroglyphs would yet never give us the very least information about the language of the Toltecs. Buschmann has, indeed, pointed to names of places in Central America, and in regions that were not subject to the Aztecs, which can be satisfactorily explained from Aztec roots, and thinks[3] that these names lead us back to the Toltecs. But who will assure us that it was not rather a Chichimec tribe that had already, before the establishment of the Aztec empire, pressed far south and found those communities? It is quite deserving of remark, that in many of those names of localities[4] we find instead of the Aztec *tl*, the Sonora or Chichimec *t*. The Maya language in Yucatan shows, as Buschmann himself has proved,[5] a number of Sonora-Aztec words (see *Obs.* 2), which indicates the nearness to the Mayas of some Sonora-speaking tribe. The Toltecs, who entered America about A.D. 600, could not have introduced the worship of Fo or Buddha, but the Chichimecs did this, who came to Nicaragua from Eastern Asia after A.D. 1100.

[1] In Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, i. 249 ff., ii. 386.

[2] Waldeck, *Voyage pittoresque*, p. vii.

[3] Buschmann, *aztek Ortsnamen*, p. 727.

[4] *E.g.* Utatlan, Buschmann, p. 720; Tikal, Buschmann, p. 721, which must represent the Aztec Utlatlan (from *otlatl*) and Tlikal (from *tlilli*, black, and *kalli*, house).

[5] Buschmann, "Spuren des azt. Sprechen im Nördl. Mexico," p. 51 f.

Thus, in behalf of the assertion that the Toltecs and the Aztecs had spoken one and the same language, there has not been advanced the least shadow of a proof; but, on the contrary, all the evidence tells against the idea. Indeed, we have a positive trace of another language having been spoken. During the dancing around the Toltec pyramid of Cholulu, an old song was sung in the time of the Aztecs in an ancient speech not understood by the Aztecs. It began with the words *tulanian, hululacz.*[1] We have thus been able to reach to this as a certain fact, that before the appearance of the Chichimecs there existed an old and different people and empire, which after their capital Tulu were called by the Aztecs Toltecs, or the people of Tula, and that this people centuries earlier, probably between A.D. 600 and A.D. 700, had migrated from California, bearing with them the tradition that they had previously come to California by a long sea voyage.

Obs. 1.—It is in itself extremely probable that the Nahuatls, and before them the portion of the Chichimecs who had migrated into Mexico, had adopted from the people they there met with, the Toltecs, those words which are now found only in the Aztec and not in the Sonora languages. Had it been, as the tradition in § 291 gives it, the Toltecs who introduced the cultivation of maize into Mexico, then could we understand the fact insisted upon by Buschmann, that the Nahuatls, besides the Acolhuacs and Chichimecs, who were before them in Mexico, have other words for maize and everything pertaining to the cultivation of maize than the Sonora, that is, than the languages spoken by the wild Chichimec tribes remaining outside the land of Mexico. The former adopted these words from the Toltecs; the latter have constructed words for themselves for these things. The words common to the Nahuatl and Sonora languages, however, point to a primitive relationship of race and speech, and not, as Buschmann thinks, to a borrowing on the part of the Sonora tribes. The twofold fact speaks against Buschmann's view: (*a*) that the Aztec language has the personal pronouns in common with the Sonora (*ne*, I; *mu*, thou; *ta, tam*, we; *an, amo*, you); and (*b*) that the *t*, which is found as such in all the Sonora languages, as well in roots as in the nominative suffix, and which proves itself original by

[1] Alex. von Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères.*

this agreement of all the Sonora languages, has been changed in the Aztec language into *tl*. Had the Sonora languages adopted Aztec roots as foreign words, some at least with the *tl* would have been adopted. But thus we see that the Aztec language is rather a daughter of a Sonora primitive language, and is related to it as Middle High German to Gothic; or more exactly, that the primitive Sonora and primitive Nahuatl were sisters, like the Old High German and the Old Norse. When, then, we are thus obliged to admit that the Aztec contained, besides its genuine roots common to the Sonora languages, also other foreign words picked up in Mexico, which the Chichimecs and Acolhuacs had already learnt and adopted from the Toltecs, Buschmann argues against this conclusion, that the Aztec language gives the impression of a unity. Such an impression is also made by the French language in contrast to the English, and nevertheless it possesses a number of Celtic and German words alongside of the Latin.

Obs. 2. — Maya words which are common to the Aztec languages: *seel*, cold, Azt. *sê*; *kum*, head, *komi*; *küssh*, thorn, *huitz*; *miatzil*, wisdom, *mati*, to know; *missh*, *midstun*, cat, Sonora *midston*, *misto*, Azt. *mids*, lion; *nenel*, pupil of the eye, Azt. *neue*; *thul*, rabbit, *totsch*; *tumin*, gold, *tomin*; *tuncalutscho*, owl, *tecolo*; *tzo*, hair, *tzon*; *shhiu*, herb, *shhikui*. Also the Mayan name *Tical*, which is explained from *ti*, equivalent to *tli*, and from the Aztec *calli*, belongs to this class.

§ 293. *The Origin of the Toltecs, and their Relation to the Incas.*

The Toltec empire crumbled to pieces between three and four hundred years before the discovery of America (§ 291), and a remnant of the Toltecs went southwards into Central America. Between two and three hundred years before the discovery of America (§ 287, note 1), the race of the Incas entered into Peru. This brings us to the question that has been urged by many, Is there any historical connection between the Toltecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru? Did the remnant of the Toltecs go, not merely, as the Aztecs report, into Central America, but also continued moving southward, of which the Aztecs probably knew nothing, until they reached the west coast, and perchance a century after

their expulsion from Mexico, perhaps even earlier, arrived in Peru? In recent times, the two most thorough investigators in regard to Peru, Von Tschudi and Von Versen, have expressed themselves thoroughly in favour of this view. The latter says[1] that the Peruvians—he is speaking of the Incas—had probably inhabited Mexico before the Aztecs, until by the Aztecs they were driven out. The former[2] regards the Old Peruvians, the builders of the temple of Tiahuanaco, according to Angrand's supposition, as a race that had branched off from the Toltecs, and at an early period migrated southwards,—a point which we leave undecided. Without hesitation, however, he maintains that the migrating Incas were Toltecs (p. 178). It is curious, then, to find Tschudi expressing astonishment at the Aztecs knowing nothing of the Inca empire of Peru (p. 179). Why they should have known nothing of it is sufficiently explained in § 292.

We shall now adduce evidence in behalf of those statements which we have made.

1. Hunger and disease are said by the Aztecs to have been the special causes of the decay of the Toltec empire. Such an account must undoubtedly have been got from the Toltecs themselves who remained in Mexico, and under the dominion of the Chichimecs, for it presents their overthrow and decay in the most favourable light. By mere famine and sickness, however, no empire, no State has ever been overthrown, but is only so weakened that, if an outward foe then threatens and comes down upon it, it may not have power to resist the attack. The outward foe which gave the finishing stroke to the inwardly weakened empire of the Toltecs was (§ 292) the wild tribe of the Chichimecs. These Chichimecs, however, were soon driven into Central America. Chichimec tribes have settled (§ 292) in the neighbourhood of the Mayas in Yucatan. By the Chichimecs and the allied Colhuacs (§ 292)

[1] *Transatlant. Streifzüge*, Leipz. 1876, p. 71.

[2] J. J. von Tschudi, "Ollanta," etc. etc., in the *Denkschriften der k. k. östreich. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1876, vol. xxiv. p. 177.

the Fo worship was introduced into Nicaragua. Seeing then that this is so, it is most probable that the remnant of the Toltecs which fled into Nicaragua did not here find its permanent abode in these isthmuses and peninsulas already crowded with a dense population made up of old cultured races (§ 290), but hastened before the wild Chichimecs pursuing them still farther south. And they would not stop on the plateau of Bogota, where we have already met with the Muyscas, the unmixed Old Peruvians, as a Japanese race; but they would move along the west coast, on the narrow strip of land between the Andes and the sea, a natural street, which of itself must have led them on to Peru.

2. The members of the ruling family in the New Peruvian kingdom were called Incas, sons of the sun. Was this in reality only a family? A mere particular family would never have been able to overturn the Old Peruvian State, and overthrow its constitution and religion. The ruling family must have had a people behind it. But such a people, if they overran the Peruvian empire, and put the Old Peruvians into subjection, would then also introduce their own language, and either would have forced this upon the subject race, or at least have been compelled to frame a mixed dialect, which, in relation to the Old Peruvian, would be a new language. The case, however, was not so. The Incas did, indeed, introduce new names of the gods. But the etymology of all names of places and of deities of the Old Peruvian empire may be explained from the Ketshua language as it was spoken in the New Peruvian empire of the Incas. The language, therefore, must have continued essentially the same. The Incas must have adopted the language of the Old Peruvians. This view, already expressed as a likely conclusion in as many words in the first edition of this work, I find now powerfully confirmed by positive information communicated by Tschudi.[1] Garcilasso, as well as Balboa, reports that the Incas spoke among their own people a different language than the

[1] "Ollantadrama," p. 178.

Ketshua. They did not therefore obtrude this their own language brought with them into the land upon the Old Peruvians whom they found there, but they learned their language. And, in fact, they have even formed their own names from Old Peruvian words, as *pacha*, *huaca* (§ 294). This does not look like a conquering race. Indeed, the very tradition of the Incas themselves, which will be given fully in § 295, knows nothing about a conquest, but rather of a religious stratagem, a *pia fraus*, whereby the family secured the supremacy of their religion and their own elevation to the throne, in the first instance to the throne of one of the numerous Old Peruvian States, from which position they wrought on gradually until they had secured dominion over the other States. Throughout there is mention only of a princely family, of a princess Mama Sibaco and her sons. This, however, does not mean a family in our European sense. The daughters of this ruling family were brought up, down to the time of their marriage, as maidens of the sun in a particular royal institute, and the number of these maidens of the sun had risen in the time of Pizarro to as many as 1500. We know from history, and have examples in Europe, of very old and flourishing royal families; but that any one of them should be able to produce at one time as many as 1500 princesses, this has never been heard of! That number of maidens of the sun would lead us to the conclusion that there must have been six or seven thousand persons of the Inca race. Indeed almost all the higher offices of State were filled by Incas. The Incas, then, were no nation, neither were they in our sense a family, but they were a tribe, and indeed a foreign tribe of immigrants, which therefore regarded themselves over against the Old Peruvians among whom they came as a family or a race, and which secured to themselves the rank of a ruling class.[1]

[1] *Briefe Alex. von Humboldt au seinen Bruder Wilhelm* (Stuttg. 1880), p. 111: Ou ne doit pas oublier ausei que nous ne connaissons pas le

3. If the members of this tribe were related to one another, not by direct descent from one common ancestor, but by undoubted cognate affinity, then it was in the highest degree natural that they should have intermarried among themselves and among themselves alone. This was indeed a law in the Inca empire, that the son of an Inca should marry only an Inca's daughter, and the Inca *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the king, was indeed obliged to marry his sister. The seclusion of the race is a feature thoroughly characteristic of China. That peculiarly extended, but, with reference to those without, thoroughly exclusive idea of the family or the race (*kia*), is to be found in China. The Chinese call themselves to this day "the hundred families" (§ 268), and indeed even to the present time among that exceedingly numerous people there is only 438 family names.

4. At this point we enter upon a series of positive proofs on behalf of a connection of race subsisting between the Incas and the Toltecs. In both traces are found of a specifically Chinese culture. While the Phœnicians alloyed their bronze in the proportion of 9 of copper to 1 of tin, or 85 of copper to 15 of tin,[1] the Chinese, on the other hand, had very variously proportioned alloys, 1 to 1, 5 to 2, 3 to 1, 4 to 1, 5 to 1, 6 to 1, and most usually 3 to 2.[2] Now in those Mexican ruins bronzes are found corresponding to these blends of the Chinese, and in Central America bronzes are found corresponding to the alloy of the Phœnicians.[3] Those found in Mexico may be traced back to the Aztecs; those in Central America, to the Toltecs. But also the bronzes of the Inca empire are blended in the proportion of 3 of copper to 2 of tin.[4] The peaceful character, too, of the Toltecs, mention of which had been made to the Aztecs, agrees with the Chinese nature. The Chinese, like us Germans, rarely entered upon

language de la cour de l'Incas; celui de la famille royale diffère du yquicha.

[1] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, p. 9.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 28 and 29.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 25.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 27.

offensive, but mostly limited themselves to defensive warfare. The Incas do not appear to have been altogether so peaceable. But that they acquired a warlike nature in their war against the Chichimecs, and during their movement into South America, where they had to defend their own persons, is, if once the correctness of our hypothesis is granted, quite conceivable, since it must be admitted that their reformatory culture mission obliged them to subdue one after another the corrupt States of the old Peruvians sunk in all manner of abominations, if they were not, on the contrary, to be themselves utterly stifled by them. The civil constitution set up by them as such had a thoroughly mild and peaceful character. We shall indeed find so much that reminds us of the Chinese in the Incas, especially in their religion (§ 295), that they present to us almost a copy of the Chinese. We may here in a preliminary way just point to one feature, that the Incas exactly as the Chinese assigned to the year 365 days and 6 hours, and like the Chinese reckoned and observed the solstices and the equinoxes.[1]

5. The tradition that the Toltecs, after a long residence in the Old Redland, entered Mexico about A.D. 650,[2] gives support to the view that the Toltecs came to America either from China itself or from a neighbouring country (Corea or the Loo Choo islands) influenced by Chinese culture, having been in all probability driven away from their early home. We have no Chinese reports in reference to this (see *Obs.*). But such we could not have expected; for of the old Shu-king only a fragment has been preserved (§ 268), and the loss of a single ship was certainly not so rare an occurrence that it must necessarily have found a place in their annals.

6. Of the language of the Toltecs we know nothing

[1] Tschudi, *Ketschuasprache*, p. 6. Carli, *amerik. Briefe*, ii. 8, 9. Rauch, *Einheit d. Mensch.* p. 319.

[2] When Ixtilxocuitl sets down their arrival in Old Redland at the year A.D. 387 (§ 291), we have advanced abundant proof to show that little weight is to be attached to the chronological statements of the Aztec historical tradition, which differ from one another by centuries.

(§ 292). The Mayas appear (§ 296) to have been a Toltec tribe, but mixed up with the earlier inhabitants. They continued in Chiapa, and took no part in the migration to South America. How much that is Toltec has been preserved by this tribe in its language, we are utterly unable to say. A comparison with the Mandarin Chinese helps us nothing, for in China to-day a great number of different dialects are spoken (§ 268); and because further, on the one hand, the Chinese has essentially changed since A.D. 500, and, on the other hand, the Toltecs, after their arrival in America, in intercourse with the Malay early inhabitants, undoubtedly adopted many foreign elements into the language and have modified these. The Incas in Peru completely appropriated the Ketshua language that was prevalent there: they only retained the old names of their gods, but then these clearly enough correspond to Chinese roots (§ 295).

7. Between the Toltec empire in Mexico and the Old Malay cultured empire of the Alligévi on the Mississippi (§ 283), there appear to have been communications, perhaps even some mingling of races. We are reminded that the ruins and tombs of the Mississippi valley become more frequent toward the Gulf of Mexico, and in them just here are urns with ashes found beside the bones. The burning of bodies was also a custom of the Aztecs, and we shall be able to prove (§ 298, *Obs.* 2) that neither they nor the Chichimecs brought it with them from Asia, but that they could only have adopted it from the earlier inhabitants of Mexico, the Toltecs. It came to the Alligévi also from the Toltecs. That the Incas, too, burned the bodies of their dead, is shown in § 295.

8. While thus a multitude of positive marks favour the Toltec descent of the Incas, there has to be added to these the exceedingly important negative argument, that no one knows at all how to explain whence the Incas could have come, if not from the Toltec empire. They were a race of high culture, and indeed a civilised people, who, with their

mild humanity and noble religion, presented the most striking contrast to the corrupted races of the Old Japanese immigration, the Old Peruvians, and the Muyscas, opposed with firm determination unnatural vice and human sacrifices, possessed other gods and other names of gods, as like to the Chinese as those others were to the Japanese. They could not therefore have formed a branch of that same Japanese immigration. Still less ground would there be for deriving them from the Malay cultured race of the Alligévi, or from the empires of Central America, festering with their *πορνεία* and phallus-worship. Where, then, is there another cultured race left from whom we could derive them, but only the Toltecs? With this result chronological facts agree, with it all the details of fact and circumstance correspond.[1]

Obs. 1.—It has been thought that in the Chinese literature a positive statement has been discovered to the effect that America, and indeed Mexico, had been known to the Chinese by the end of the fifth century before Christ. A Buddhist priest Hoéi-schin came about this time to China, and declared that he had been in a country, Fu-sang, in the description of which Paravey (*l'Amérique sous la nom de Fou-Sang*, Paris 1844), Neumann (in *Ausland*, 1845), Tschudi, and Rauch (*Einheit*, etc., p. 310), and most recently Quatrefages (*le genre humain*, t. v.), think that they recognise America, and especially Mexico or California. On the other hand, however, Dr. E. Bretschneider of Pekin (in the *Chinese Recorder*, Oct. 1873) declares that the story of the Buddhist priest is humbug, and the land Fu-sang a *terra incognita nec non dubia*, and that, if it existed at all, we have not the slightest reason for looking for it to America. I cannot help inclining to this latter opinion. There seems, indeed, to have been an actual country of Fu-sang; for Bretschneider himself says: In *Notes and Queries*, vol. iv. p. 19, there is a passage cited out of the Liang-ssu-kung-ki, that the kingdom of Fu-sang had sent envoys to China. But wherever this kingdom may have been situated, this much is certain, 1. That Hoéi-schin had not been himself there, for he only gives a confused and legendary story, and 2. that his account does not suit America. We shall now listen to this story, which I possess only in the English translation of Bret-

[1] We may also point to the thoroughly Chinese ending of the names of places, Tomantsin, Acamapitsin, etc.

schneider. "The kingdom of Fu-sang lies 20,000 li (miles) east of Tahan, and indeed due east of China. The country gets its name from a like-named tree, which grows there very abundantly. Its leaves are like those of the tree Thung; the young sprouts are like those of the bamboo, and are eaten; the fruit is like a pear, and is of a red colour. From the bark cloth is prepared, and also paper. The houses are built of wood. There are no cities there: weapons and wars are unknown. There are two prisons in the land, one for slight, the other for serious offenders. Carts are in use drawn by horses, or oxen, or stags (reindeers). The deer are their domestic animals, as the cow is in China. A fermented drink is prepared by them from milk. There are mulberry trees, and red pears which keep for a whole year. Grapes also grow there. Silver and copper are not esteemed of any value. There is no iron, but copper in abundance. They have books. The inhabitants of Fu-sang knew nothing of the Buddhist religion until five priests from Ki-pin went thither about A.D. 458 (the year, of course, is given in the Chinese reckoning), and took with them the sacred books and the faith. A thousand miles east of Fu-sang is a kingdom, in which there are no men but only women, whose bodies are completely covered with hair. When they wish progeny, they bathe themselves in a certain river. They have no breasts, but bunches of hair on the neck from which the children suck." The conclusion of this report, the story about the land of women, shows that the whole, if not concocted by Hoéi-schin himself, is related on the foundation of a sailor's tale. His silence about the sea voyage shows that he was never there himself. It must still, however, be admitted as possible that the beginning of the story, the description of Fu-sang, rests upon reports of voyagers who had actually been in America. This might be supported if we look at details. 1. The situation. Tahan lies, according to the Thâng-schu, chap. 259*b*, on the Kiânhi or Lake Baikal, bordering on the country of the Kiĕ-kia-sú (the Kirghizes), is wooded, mossy, has no sheep and horses, nor reindeers, and so is to be looked for between the Yenesai and the Lena in the south of Siberia. We shall take the 20,000 miles east of Tahan, to use the Buddhist style of reckoning, as a round number in the sense of an immensely great distance. If, again, we take the latitudes of America, going directly east from China we come, not to Mexico, but to California. 2. The fauna. Neither in California nor in Mexico were there horses and oxen before the arrival of the Spaniards. If, however, we admit that, according to the style of the Buddhists, the ambiguous words of the Chinese original may perhaps also bear the sense: "carts like those which among us in Asia are drawn by horses, oxen, or reindeer are in use; but

the domesticated animals of the inhabitants of Fu-sang are deers;" then this would exactly suit Mexico, where the Aztecs had tamed species of deer, *iztac mazame* and *tlamscaz mazame*, as domesticated animals (Hernandez, p. 324; Buffon, *hist. nat.* x. 431). We cannot, therefore, take the situation to have been exactly east of China, but must rather go two degrees farther south. 3. The flora. The case is still worse in regard to the plant world. The vine, indeed, is found in North America. Peter Kalm in 1749 discovered in North America no less than seven varieties of the *vitis vinifera* growing wild (Rauch, *Einheit des Mensch.* p. 357); these, however, all seem to have gone wild, and to have been originally brought there by the Normans (§ 301, *Obs.* 3). They were found, too, in Massachusetts, Virginia, Ohio, Florida (Berghaus, *allg. Geogr.* iii. p. 229), not in Mexico. Of mulberry trees the *Morus rubra* is found wild in Florida and Virginia, the *Maclura aurantiaca* in North America (not more exactly determined); and, according to Grisebach (*Veget. der Erde*, ii. p. 321), the climate of the highlands of Mexico is suitable for the olive, the mulberry, and the vine. What is to be made of the pear that keeps a whole year, it is hard to say. In the Fu-sang tree some think they recognise the *Agave mexicana*. The use of its bark for making cloth and paper, as well as the use of the young sprouts for food, would support this identification; but the agave sprouts are altogether unlike those of the bamboo, still less can it be said that the *Agave mexicana* or *americana* bears pear-shaped, red fruit. The word Fu-sang is strikingly like the word Pisang. The pisang or the banana, *Musa paradisiaca*, is probably a native of the East Indies, but is met with, on the one hand, upon the Gold Coast of Africa, where its fruit is called *fusu;* and, on the other hand, is spread throughout Polynesia, and was found by the Spaniards growing wild, or become wild, on the west coast of Peru and in the vast stretches of Mexico. In the American languages we know of only the names *parura* and *atoca* for the banana. The name pisang is, according to Forbes Waston in his *Index to the Native Names of Plants* (1868, p. 487), of Malay origin. Since then, according to Lennis, the young sprouts of the pisang are eaten in the East Indies as vegetables, the fibres of the leaf sheaths are used for garments and cloths, and the bright yellow fruit, in shape like a cucumber, might be compared to a pear, it seems to me that the sailor's tale which Hoći-schin, living in Tahan, and probably never in India, reproduced, had for its basis some particular plant of the *Musa* species in one of the Polynesian groups. We are not only not compelled to think of the *Agave mexicana*, but we are actually debarred from doing so. 4. The culture of the people of Fu-sang. Their peaceful character and their possess-

ing books would suit as a description of the Toltecs: the absence of cities does not suit, and the preparation of a fermented drink from milk does not answer at all, but is a feature which Hoćischin, in a poetizing way, probably added from his own experiences at Kirghiz. In this story, therefore, there is no proof afforded of any intercourse by sea existing between China and Mexico in A.D. 450. Rauch (*Einheit d. Mensch.* p. 309) refers to Marco Polo, who reached Pekin in the thirteenth century, and there heard an account of the island Sipango, which lay 1500 miles distant over the sea, and was rich in gold, pearls, and precious stones. Between Sipango and China lay 7448 islands. But Sipango is evidently the Chinese *tschi-pān*, sunrise, east, the same word from which Japan derives its name. As to the island of which the Chinese gave an account to Marco Polo, it can scarcely be understood of any other than the Japanese island group. And even if America were to be understood by it, we could only reach this conclusion from it, that in the thirteenth century, and not in the fifth or sixth century, Chinese sailors had gone to America and returned thence to China again.

Obs. 2.—That the Incas were not at all an Old Peruvian race, that the Inca religion was not at all a reformatory effort that grew up on native Old Peruvian soil, is shown clearly and distinctly from the consideration that a native religious reformer would in all circumstances have laid hold upon the noblest and best element in the Old Peruvian religion, belief in the invisible creator of the world, *Pachacamac-Illatidsi*, put new life into this belief, and by means of it have purified the sunken religion. But of such a creator of the world the Incas knew nothing (§ 295). They had only the sun-god, and his sister-wife, the moon-goddess, and for this divine pair they had entirely new names, and not those of the Old Peruvians. The range of ideas, worship, and ceremonial of the Inca religion is wholly different from those of the earlier inhabitants of Peru. Only the legends common to all the races of the Mongol group, the Mongolians, Japanese, and Chinese in Asia, about the descent of the ruling house from the sun, were transferred to their ruling house, as they had already found them among the Old Peruvian dynasties.

§ 294. *The Empire of the Incas in Peru.*

About A.D. 1300 the Inca Roca (comp. § 287) founded the empire of the Incas in the north of the Old Peruvian realm.

His third successor,[1] Yahuar Huacac, "the divine" or "the Son of the Gods," subdued the Old Peruvian tribes of the Ringri or Aymares at Titicaca; the fifth, Pachacutec, "the earth bruiser," conquered Pachacamac; the seventh, Tupac Yupanqui, in A.D. 1450 conquered Chili; and the eighth, Huayna, added Quito to his dominions. When Pizarro in 1526 landed at Tumbes, the brothers Huascar and Atahualpa were striving with one another for the sovereignty.

The stage of civilisation to which they had attained is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the clothing of the men consisted in a woollen or cotton garment reaching down to the knees, while that of the women reached to the heels, together with an under-garment of cotton cloth. Thorns and prickles were cleverly used for sewing instead of needles. For other sorts of work they had tools of bronze. They cultivated maize and potatoes (*papa*, an Old Peruvian word, see § 287) and cotton; bred lamas and sheep; distilled from the Coco a spirituous liquor *tschitscha*;[2] they were also skilful workers in gold and silver, and were singularly well acquainted with the principles of architecture. Of their temples we shall speak farther on. They built immense viaducts and stone bridges, by means of which not only the coast regions, but also the valleys and defiles of the Cordilleras, were rendered accessible. Their aqueducts, too, were of gigantic size, often extending to a length of 500 miles. The postal system, however, was perhaps the most remarkable of all their institutions. Tschakis or runners were placed in stations throughout the whole country, just as in China, and they forwarded news and correspondence with incredible rapidity. They had no alphabetical writing, and sought to extirpate the Old Peruvian hieroglyphics, not on account

[1] So says Acosta. Garcilasso's statement, that he was the seventh successor of Roca, is less probable. Garcilasso is always inclined to lengthen out the various dynastic periods.

[2] It is a word of Malay origin also met with in Further India (§ 280). The art of preparing this drink seems not to have been discovered by the Incas, but by the primitive Malayan population.

of their form but of their contents. They themselves used two kinds of writing. (*a*) For ordinary purposes they employed the knot-cord and knot-texture, the *quipu*. The cords were two feet long; from these threads were suspended, which were tied up in knots, and significance was attached both to their colour and the way of tying them. In the reports sent by the judges to the Government the various colours meant the various offences, and the form of the knot the nature of the punishment.[1] The numerals, too, were designated by the knots: a simple knot meant ten, a double knot one hundred, a triple knot one thousand. Thus 3140 would be represented by three triple knots, one double knot, and four simple knots. In this way a register was kept of births and deaths, the number of the troops, the quantity of stores, of cattle, etc. (*b*) For the recording of historical events a picture-writing was used, the occurrences being represented on clay tablets which were then exposed to harden under the rays of the sun. All further historical matter was transmitted orally by the *amautas* or national historians.—It is said that the Toltecs also had a picture-writing; and though it is not expressly said that they used the knot-writing, it is extremely probable; for, on the one hand, the Chinese employed this knot-writing in the earliest periods;[2] and, on the other hand, at the time of the Aztecs the knot-writing continued in use among several of the older tribes subject to the Aztec empire, *e.g.* among the Nepehualtzitsi.[3] This knot-writing and the institution of running posts[4] are two new witnesses on

[1] W. von Humboldt, *Sammtl. Werke*, vi. p. 556.

[2] Rauch, p. 317. Before the discovery of syllable-writing the knot-writing was in common use in China, and long prevailed among the lower orders. The Mandshurians and Ostiaks still employ it. See Müller, p. 357 f.

[3] Müller, p. 357.

[4] The running posts, it is well known, were already an institution among the ancient Iranians, and seems to have been transmitted by them to the Mongolians, to whom, according to § 264, the Chinese belong. This must have happened in a very remote age, when the Iranians and Mongolians were in close connection with one another.

behalf of the Chinese descent of the Incas; and the former, as prevailing throughout Mexico in pre-Aztec times, is a new witness for the relationship of the Incas and the Toltecs.

We now turn our attention to the condition of the empire of the Incas, which still more strikingly reminds us of that of the Chinese. The members of the Royal family (that is, according to § 293, of the ruling tribe, the Toltec race that had come into the country) call themselves IN-CA, "sons of the sun," and since the sun-god is called IN-TI, therefore Sun-ti, we have in this *ti* the identical root *ti*, "lord," which appears in the Chinese designations of God—*thîan-ti*, "lord of heaven," and *shâng-ti*, "supreme lord." But *ca* is the root common to the Mongolian languages for son (Mong. *köwe-gun*, Tung. *kunga-kan*, child, boy, Syryen. *kaga*, Chin. *hâi*, child). But also the word IN, "sun," can be derived from one root with the Chinese *ji* (*dshi*), "sun" the initial consonant being dropped, for which modification abundant time is afforded between A.D. 500 and 1300. It is quite indisputable that In-ti and In-ca were not Old Peruvian words, but were name forms imported by the Inca or Toltec race. And again, while it is demonstrable that among the Chinese from the time of Genghis Khan (B.C. 600), and undoubtedly even from a much earlier period, it was customary for the emperor, the son of the *thîan*, that is, of the sun-god (comp. § 268, *B*), once a year to plough the earth in the presence of the assembled people, it was also the custom for the Inca, the son of the sun, in Peru once a year to plough before the assembled people with a golden ploughshare.[1]

The civil constitution was, just as in China, essentially founded upon the idea of a mild patriarchal despotism, which in Peru was developed into a sort of civil communism. All the land was national property, and was divided according to established laws. There were four ranks: 1. The INCAS, that is, the whole vast tribe of the ruling family (§ 293) of the immigrant Toltecs, numbering in A.D. 1526 about 7000,

[1] Müller, p. 345 ff.

to which the *Inca κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the emperor, belonged. From its members, offices in the priesthood, in the government, and in the army were filled, and by them alone was possessed the knowledge of the laws and the mysteries of the knot-writing, unknown to the Old Peruvian people. Each Inca had to undergo a searching examination in his sixteenth year. 2. The CURACAS; these were the descendants of the subjugated Old Peruvian princes and members of the royal family. From them were chosen the subordinate military and civil officers and judges of the criminal court in Cusco, and the rest of the judges, as well as the lower officers of the army. 3. The AGRICULTURISTS. 4. The WORKERS IN METAL AND THE BUILDERS, corresponding to our artisans. Besides these there was a fifth class of SLAVES OR BONDMEN (*yanacuna*), taken from conquered neighbouring tribes.—The land was divided into the "sun-land" for the gods, priests, the aged, sick, and widows; the Inca-land for the Incas and holders of office; and the People's land, which was divided anew every year among the house-holders. Citizens and peasants were obliged to labour the sun-land and Inca-land before working their own lots. The army, on account of compulsory military service, numbered as many as 200,000 men, including slingers and archers, halberdiers and axe-bearers, and lancers. Commanding officers had golden and silver armour, subalterns leather helmets, common soldiers a thick cotton dress and a sort of turban.

§ 295. *The Religion of the Incas.*

The two gods of the Incas[1] were the sun-god IN-TI, "sun-lord," therefore lord over the sun and governing it, and his sister and wife, the moon-goddess Killa.[2] The former was represented as a flat disc, with a ring of flame surrounding a

[1] For documentary proof of what follows, see Müller, p. 363 ff.

[2] There is no philological connection between the Mama Odsello of the Old Peruvian Manca-Capac legend (§ 287*d*) and Killa. Killa is rather an Old Mongolian word connected with the Ugro-Finnic root *kû*, the moon.

countenance of gold, though no statue is found under it. This sun disc was brought to the eastern door in the temple of the sun, so that it was illuminated by the rays of the rising sun. Killa was represented by a silver disc. The rainbow, Kitscha, was servant to both, and his representation on a gold plate as a bow, and not in human form, occupied the side wall of the temple of the sun at Cusco. The stars were regarded as male and female servants of Inti and Killa, and indeed the planet Venus, Tschasca,[1] was the page of Inti; but the comets were messengers of the divine anger. The thought of the invisible creator, of whom later on we shall find a trace among the Old Toltecs of Mexico, § 298, had been utterly lost. Inasmuch, however, as we hear about a lord of the sun, and have no anthropomorphic representations of the sun, moon, and rainbow, which are reverenced only as stars and heavenly phenomena, the polytheism of the Incas remained at that primitive, non-mythological stage which is somewhat analogous to the Indra period of the Vedic religion. And even though we have no information as to whether there may not have been a lingering impression among them that it was one and the same deity which ruled in those different stars, that primitive polytheism of the Incas stood unquestionably high above the rude polytheism into which the Old Peruvian religion (§ 287), as well as the withered and decaying Pachacamac worship, had sunk. The conscience of the Old Peruvians, just as in the case of the Japanese, had been lulled to sleep under the influence of base lusts. Unnatural vice, and, hand in hand therewith, the cruel custom of human sacrifice, were prevalent. The Incas, who vigorously opposed both of these forms of wickedness,[2] showed thereby that conscience

[1] Derived from the Chinese *tschâo*, light, and *kāo*, high, elevated.

[2] Since, according to Müller's pet assumption, human sacrifice is inseparable from heathenism, he seeks (p. 377 f.) to prove that even by the Incas human sacrifices were repeatedly offered up. According to Prescott, i. 8, occasionally a child was offered in sacrifice at the festival of the sun. But it will hardly be affirmed that this was done at Cusco, and by order of the Inca. Acosta, Balboa, Montesino, Sarate are agreed in testifying that those

was living and awake in them. The law that enjoins the king or the heir-apparent of the throne to marry his own sister seems indeed to be in direct contradiction to this statement. But that this arose from no blunting of the conscience in regard to the crime of incest as such, but was only a consequence of a false belief that the kings, as sons of the gods, were of a divine nature, and raised above the laws that bound other men, may be seen from this, that among all others marriage with sisters was forbidden under pain of death.[1]

Inti was worshipped by sacrifices and presents of devoted and consecrated gifts. The former, consisting of lamas, sheep, dogs, hares, birds, were kindled by concave mirrors, and in part wholly consumed, in part reserved for a sacrificial feast, the blood having been sprinkled on the temple gates. The offering of incense and flowers formed the transition to the presentation of gifts. The consecrated gifts consisted of gold,

who belonged to the Old Peruvian element in the nation still brought human sacrifices to their gods, and that this the Incas were not always able to prevent. But to say that by order of the Inca Government 200 children were drowned and buried is contradicted by Müller himself, when he tells that the Incas ordered that instead of children, images of them should be buried. Hence we may also assume that the offering of children was done by the Old Peruvians against the will of the Incas. And since, finally, according to Sarate, i. 4, earthenware vases were found in the temple at Cusco with the remains of children, these may be supposed to be deceased children of the Incas, who had received an honourable burial, rather than sacrificed children. Tschudi also assumes that Garcilasso's story of the Incas having had no human sacrifices is mere romance, and tells of 1000 men having been offered up at the death of Huayna Capac. But, after all, the accounts of Acosta and others, that the people made such sacrifices against the will of the Incas, are not invalidated, and no one is by any means entitled to affirm, with Tschudi, "that human sacrifices were made by the Incas." The reports of all credible historians as to the opposition offered by the Incas to human sacrifice are too decided and distinct, and evil reports of fanatical priests about the heathenism of the Peruvians may easily be understood. Even the ill-substantiated report, that upon the death of a king his wives were burnt with his corpse, seems to be a calumnious transference to the Peruvians of a heathen Indian custom. The Spaniards saw the death of none of the Inca kings but of the two whom they themselves killed.

[1] Müller, p. 410.

silver, shells, pearls, cloths, feathers, and a third part of the spoils of war. There was an essential distinction between the temples and the sacrificial caves of the Old Peruvian people and the Teocallis of the Aztecs. They were real built temples, roofed in, and the place for sacrifice was inside; only the burnt-offerings were brought out to a spot outside in front of the temple.[1] Each province had its temple of the sun as well as its Inca palace. The great temple of the sun in Cusco, the royal residence, called *Coricancha*, or Golden Court, was a square brick building, its inner walls covered with ornaments of gold; on the western wall, over the altar, was the golden sun disc, on the side walls the moon disc and picture of the rainbow; alongside of the sun disc on a golden throne were the figures of deceased Inca kings (like the "Hall of the Ancestors" of the Chinese, § 298, *C*). Round about the temple were several small chapels for the star-gods forming the train of Inti, and one more prominent than the rest for Killa. In the chapel of Killa were found figures of the Inca queens. At the entrance into the temple, worshippers took off their shoes and kissed hands to the image of the sun. The high priest presented the offerings with the words: "Behold what thy children and creatures offer unto thee! Accept it, and be not wroth with them! Grant them life and health, and bless their fields!" It is evident that they had the idea of a personal power ruling in the sun. At the festivals of the sun songs of praise were sung, each strophe

[1] The Toltecs of Mexico built the vast pyramids of Cholula, Papantla, and Teotihuacan, greater in breadth than in height (§ 292). Here the question may be asked: If the Incas were really neighbours of those Toltecs, why did they not build pyramids like these? The answer is easy. Pyramids built of hewn stones of 1400 feet in breadth and up to 180 feet in height could only be the work of a settled people. During the period of their southward wanderings, occupying nearly a hundred years, they must have after a little while forgotten the art and style of pyramid-building; they only retained the art of temple-building, after the pattern of that which stood on the pyramids of Cholula, as something indispensable and easily reproduced. Just such roofed temples as those of the Incas of Peru are in fact found (§ 290) in Central America, that is, on the route of the wanderings of the Inca-Toltecs.

of which began with the word *haylli*, "triumph."[1] The melodies were weird and melancholy, and constructed on the principle of a definite acoustic system, so that in A.D. 1555 it was found possible out of these melodies to compose a mass. It is well known that the Chinese had a diatonic scale of five tones (*kung, tschang, kio, tsche, jü*, = *f, g, a, c, d*), and that, according to their traditions, from primitive times, apparently from the era of Ling-lün, B.C. 2637, and that they possessed long before the Egyptians a knowledge of the octave.[2] Like the Chinese too, the Inca Peruvians, in addition to their singing, had wind and percussion instruments. Also, again, as in China (§ 268, *C*), a circular dance, called *raymi*, was connected with their worship. They had also a yearly cycle of festivals. 1. The INTI-P-RAYMI,[3] the festival of the sun-god, in winter, on the 21st June, as the shortest day (the month was called *situp raymi*), when the death and regeneration of Inti were celebrated. Three sun discs, which were called *apu-inti, tschurintin*, and *inti-cok*, that is, Prince Inti, Father and Son, and Inti the Giver, were set up in the temple, the offered gifts were carried in solemn procession, the sacred fire was quenched, and with a concave mirror was kindled again, and with a sacrificial meal and dance the festival was concluded. 2. SITUA RAYMI, in September, a festival of purification, introduced by a preliminary fast and a bath on the night preceding the feast day. Balls of *caucu*, sacred bread, were cooked in pans, sprinkled or mixed with the blood of the sacrifice, and sent to all temples and to the Curacas. The worshippers smeared themselves with the blood of their sacrifices. A messenger of the sun came armed from the Inca palace, and ordered four others to drive away all evil. Amid shouts of

[1] Comp. the *hulu-laez* in the old song of Cholula (§ 292). *Hulu* and *haalli* sound very much alike.

[2] Comp. C. Billert in H. Mendel's *musik. Conversationslexikon*, Berlin 1870, Bd. 2, p. 394 ff.

[3] *Raymi* is an appellative, and means "festival;" it has therefore nothing to do with the Indian god Rama, with whose name Rauch (*Einheit d. Mensch.* p. 324) seeks to connect it.

joy from the people they rushed down through the streets. In the evening a torch procession was formed. 3. AYMU RAYMI, the harvest festival, in May; an image made of corns of maize (*pirhua*) was worshipped. 4. CAPAC RAYMI, summer festival, in December, when alongside of three sun discs the image of the thunder-god was placed, prayer was offered for protection from rain and lightning, and the young Incas were put through their exercise in the use of arms. The first, second, and fourth of these festivals correspond, even in regard to the seasons of their observance, to the Chinese festivals of the equinoxes and solstices. Besides these, there were monthly festivals (*Comay*, when the ashes of an animal burnt as a sacrifice were scattered on the river; *Arihua*, in April, etc.), and in times of distress and scarcity special days of penitence and prayer, *itus*, with a two days' fast, procession, and concluding dance.—The high priest, always an Inca, was called *huacap-uillak*, "he who addresses the gods," or *uillak-umu*, "the speaking priest." He chose the other priests, who were called *huaca-rimatschik*, and he assigned them their places. The *callparicuk* foretold things from examining entrails; the *uirapirca* prophesied from the smoke rising from the sacrifices.—The daughters of the Inca families, "Virgins of the Sun," were placed at Cusco under the guardianship of women, *mamacuna*. So long as they remained in this order they had to prepare the clothing of the inmates of the royal palace, the curtains for the temple of the sun, and the sacred bread, and they had also to maintain the sacred fire. Unchastity on their part was punished with burying alive, while the ravisher was strangled; only if the virgin of the sun ventured to swear that she was pregnant by the sun was she allowed to escape.[1] The emperor and the other Incas chose their brides from the virgins of the sun. The rest of the

[1] May not this statement rest upon a misunderstanding? The Incas may have told the Spaniards the legend, common to all Mongolian peoples, of these virgins of the sun, who became pregnant by the sun, and what had happened once in fable may have been assumed to be a regularly recognised law.

virgins of the sun were, after a seven years' service, married to the Curacas. Religious customs: Fifteen or twenty days after birth the child was bathed with water;[1] in its tenth or twelfth year, just as among the Chinese, it got another name; then its hair and nails were cut, and what was cut was offered to the sun. Corpses, *mallki*, were sometimes reduced to mummies, sometimes burnt. Eschatology: The souls of the Incas pass into the *hanan patscha*, "the higher world;" other souls pass into the *hucu patscha*, "the lower world," which is also called *Supaypa huasi*, literally "Supai's house." Supai was the name of the god of the dead.

Obs.—As to the way in which the Incas adopted the religion of the sun from the Old Peruvians and secured themselves upon the throne, Montesino gives the following tradition: The Inca Roca, the founder of the Inca empire, was the son of a princess, Mama Sibaco, who, shocked and indignant at the sunken and base condition of the Old Peruvian race in regard to religion and morals, especially at their unnatural vice and their human sacrifices associated with cannibal practices, determined to make a change in their religion and customs. She now caused to be prepared gleaming discs of gold and a robe decked with precious stones, and having put these upon her son, she hid him in the cave Tschingana, near Cusco. To the people, however, she told the story that her son had been in his sleep enveloped in the rays of his father the sun and taken by him up into heaven, but that he was to return again, for the sun-god had determined that he should be king in Cusco. Six princesses came forth as witnesses to attest the truth of her story. After four days the people of Cusco were called together; the princess entreated of the sun the restoration of her boy. Then suddenly he emerged in his glittering attire from the cave. It reminds one of the Malayan legend of the emerging of the sun from a cave (§ 271, 283), as if this story had passed over to the Old Peruvians, and been incorporated in their Auca legend (§ 287, *C*). Sibaco therefore very cunningly adapted her devices in accordance with existing beliefs of the Old Peruvians. The people led forth her son with enthusiasm to the old temple of the sun, and here he issued the commands of his father, the sun-god, as new laws: First of all, the abolishing of human sacrifices and of all kinds of unnatural vice (those guilty of such vice were to be burnt), with the threat that if those laws were not enforced and obeyed, the god

[1] See more in regard to this under § 303, *Obs.*

would repudiate the whole people and abandon them to destruction. The people hasted to obey, and on the day following six thousand of the inhabitants were joined together in legal marriage, and instead of the Old Peruvian god Illatidsi-Wiracotscha, they now rendered worship to Inti. — This legend is highly probable on internal grounds. Since the immigrant race of the Incas or Toltecs met with a sun-god in Peru, just like the Old Japanese or Old Mongolian legend, originally connected with the Chinese-Toltec, of the descent of their ruler from the sun, so is it natural and reasonable that they should have prudently used this legend, and should have attached to it their Inti religion, in order to introduce it first of all into the city of Cusco, and so to secure to themselves the sovereign rule. When, after two generations (§ 294), the new religion and customs and the new royal family had gained a footing in Cusco, Yahuar Huacac began by means of hostile raids to spread his religion and rule over the other Old Peruvian States. Always with admirable skill, especially in regard to the position assigned to the Curacas, he managed to secure for a comparatively small race, like that of the Incas, sovereignty over a great people, and the adoption by them of a new religion to which they were naturally averse. It is therefore quite conceivable that the overturning of the old religion and its horrors, especially in the provinces conquered at later times, was not always immediately accomplished by the Incas.—But that in the esoteric circle of the Inca family, which indeed alone received instruction in history, and alone understood the notation of the knotted cord, a knowledge of the cunning device of Mama Sibaco should have been preserved, is also quite a probable conjecture. More recent historians, like Ternaux and Stephenson, have confounded the story of the introduction of the Inti religion by Roca with the Old Peruvian legend of Manco Capac (§ 287), and mixed them up together; they have represented Manco as making golden sun-discs, which is *à priori* inconceivable, since the Old Peruvian religion did not depict their sun-god on discs, but in stone statues.

§ 296. *The Legends of the Toltecs and Mayas.*

At the pyramids erected by the Toltecs of Cholula there was during the age of the Aztecs a local festival celebrated by the inhabitants of Cholula, and at it that song referred to in § 292 was sung in an ancient pre-Sonora dialect, which had as its contents the legend of Shhelhua. Only the two opening words of the song have been preserved; but the

legend itself was found by a Spaniard, Rios, in an old hieroglyph, now lost, and so we have still the outline of the story.[1]—Four thousand eight hundred years after the creation of the world there was a flood. The country of Anahuac, that is, Mexico, was then inhabited by giants, *tzocuilleshhequc*. In the flood some of them were saved alive, others were changed into fishes. Only seven giants fled into a cave. When the water receded, one of these seven giants, Shhelhua, known by the nickname of "the builder," went to Cholula, and built there as a memorial on the mountain Tlaloc, which had served him and his six brothers as a place of refuge, a pyramid, which was to reach up to heaven; but the gods destroyed this work with fire, by which means many of the workmen perished. Then the pyramid was dedicated to Quetzalcoatl.—The reminiscence of the flood, of Noah and his three sons, who are given in this case as six,—perhaps the brothers and their wives, since in the agglutinate language of the Toltecs the same word probably stood for brothers and for sisters,—makes its appearance here, and also a lucid account of the tower building. But as concerns the form of the proper names, it may be conjectured that that picture-writing, because not phonetic, did not transmit any pronunciation of the name, that rather Rios received these names from the mouths of those who interpreted for him the writing after the discovery of America, and therefore in accordance with the laws of the Aztec language. It cannot therefore be matter of surprise to us that these names appear in an Aztec form. Thus, especially, the mountain Tlaloc must have originally been called Taloc or Taroc. Tlaloc was worshipped by the Aztecs as God of water, but the name was similarly used in Central America.[2] This, as well as the occurrence of the name as the name of a mountain in the Cholula legend, shows us that even in pre-Aztec times a protecting deity was fashioned out of the protecting mountain, and was adopted by the

[1] A. v. Humboldt, *Vues des Cordill.* p. 30.
[2] Müller, p. 501 f.

Aztecs into the number of their gods. Since the Sonora languages have for water the roots *ba, pa,* and *agui,* but possess no roots *tar, tal, tlal,* a non-Sonora derivation of the name of the mountain of the flood or the god of the flood must be admitted. — Shhelhua may be derived from Selwa, Jelwa, or Chelwa (§ 297, *Obs.*); the latter form would evidently have affinity to the Kaler of the Finnic legend (§ 262). Finally, Quetzalcoatl is in form a purely Aztec word, meaning "winged serpent," from *quetzalli,* the name of a kind of bird, as well as an appellative term for wings, and *coa,* a serpent; and so undoubtedly the same god to whom the Aztecs dedicated the pyramid of Cholula has been named Quetzalcoatl. But in respect both of matter and form this was also a pre-Aztec God, met with and adopted by them.[1] This is made evident from another legend which survived among a non-Nahuatl race, the Mishtecs. This people named their supreme god Votan, and represented him as a winged serpent, that is, as a dragon. There have been found among them small emeralds, four inches high, images of this god which they called *chalchihuites,* from the words *chalc,* "stone," and *huita,* "a bird."[2] But even in the ruins of Chiapa, Nicaragua, and Guatemala representations of this winged serpent are often found, and even the Mayas in Chiapa called their supreme god Votan. This serves to confirm our opinion as to the Chinese origin of the Toltecs, to whom the Mishtecs as well as the Mayas trace their origin; for it has been already shown (§ 268) that the dragon (*lûng*) was in China a primitive national deity. But now as regards the name Votan, we cannot without more ado conclude with Al. v. Humboldt that it is identical with that of the German Wuotan, but must

[1] He was reckoned even by the Aztecs as a Toltec deity; Müller, p. 486.

[2] The word *chalc,* or *tschalc,* for stone, is present also in the name of the ancient, perhaps even pre-Chichimec city Chalco, or, according to the Aztec form of the name, Tschalco,—a further proof that the Toltec language was distinct from the Sonora-Aztec, where stone is *timpe, tupe, te.*

further inquire what still is known about this god. Now the inhabitants of Chiapa had a legend about him.[1] He was nephew of the aged man who saved himself from the great flood. He took part with his uncle in the building of the great tower which was to reach up to the clouds. But during the building a scattering of the peoples took place, then Votan at the command of *teotl* (an Aztec appellative for the abstract deity) led his people southward to Guatemala and introduced civilisation among the barbarians there, such as the use of table requisites and table-cloths. That the legend at last localizes the occurrence cannot be overlooked. In it we have simply the conviction expressed: We Mayas in Chiapa are sprung from Votan; Votan is the ancestor of our race. But they thought of him as the primitive ancestor who dates back from the time of the flood. That they made him not the son but the nephew of the hero of the flood, and regard the tower builder as his uncle, should not be overlooked. In those matters all pagan myths are a mass of confusion. In the reminiscences of those peoples, largely composed of gossiping stories, the tower building is immediately connected with the receding of the flood; but the conviction that the tower was dedicated, not to the supreme god, but to the dragon, was retained by the Mishtecs, and that this was the cause of the anger of the great god was the belief of the Mayas. Even a glimmering recollection of the name of the ancestor of the Japhetic tribes has been preserved; for in Votan we have the radical letters of פתח (comp. § 260, *Obs.* 1). About A.D. 500 this tradition still survived in China. There in the mother country it by and by was extinguished under the blighting blasts of rationalistic abstraction; but in the Chinese colonies of America the old tradition was long retained. And now,

[1] Müller, p. 487. The Bishop of Chiapa, Nunnez de la Vega, had in his possession the sacred writings of the Chiapans. More recently some of these were in the possession of a Chiapan called Aguyar; according to his oral communication, Dr. Paul Felix Cabrera made known the legend in his work, *Beschreibung einer alten Stadt, die in Guatemala unsern Palenque entdeckt worden ist*, Berlin 1832.

just as in the farthest east, we have in America and in the extreme west of the Old World, in Europe, a race which has preserved a reminiscence of the name יפת or פתה. The Cambrian Gwydion also, and the German Vodan, Wuotan, Odhinn, has been shown by us (§ 260) to have been an ancestral hero, elevated into a god, striding with his descendants through the world, and making conquests in all parts of the earth. And thus we are certainly quite justified in declaring that the Votan of the Toltecs and the Wuotan are identical. In regard to this it is worthy of notice that according to Minutoli and Braunschweig, a picture of Votan has been found in which he bears a sceptre, the top of which is a head with the hair blowing in the wind. Among the Toltecs, then, just as among the Germans, the idea of the rushing wind that cannot be held is connected with that of the world-striding ancestral deity. — Yet another legend,[1] which is declared quite decided by the Aztecs to have been an old Toltec tradition, and was no doubt actually current among the remnant of the Toltec population, is associated with the name of Quetzalcoatl. When the Toltecs founded the city of Tula, Quetzalcoatl was their high priest, and Huemac was their king. The former was of a fair complexion, with dark hair and beard, dressed, like the Chinese, in long white garments, such as according to Aztec tradition and report the Toltecs themselves wore, with a mitre on his head like the Toltec priests, and a sickle in his hand. He taught agriculture, mining, statesmanship, and the calendar, and put a stop to human sacrifices, this last constituting a new and important point of resemblance between the Toltecs and the Incas.—Up to this point the legends have been simply reminiscences of the Chinese immigrants about their leader Huemac, who with them first introduced a higher degree of culture into the country previously inhabited by a Malay race. The ancestral god of those immigrants (for we have seen that the Toltec name Quetzalcoatl was just Votan) is placed alongside of him

[1] See in Müller, p. 577 f.

as if still living. But now an old tradition about the fall is confounded with this reminiscence. Under Quetzalcoatl, abundance, fruitfulness, peace, and prosperity prevail. When Tezcatlipoca let himself down from heaven by a filament of spider's web, he made his appearance before the daughter of Huamac, Ciocoatl, the serpent wife, in the form of a beautiful young pepper-pod seller, and seduced her, and thus the flood-gates of universal sin and impurity were opened.[1] He gave to Quetzalcoatl, that is, to Votan, the ancestor of the race, a drink which he pretended would render him immortal; but the effect of partaking of the draught was that Quetzalcoatl destroyed his own palaces, changed fruit trees into barren shrubs (thorns and thistles!), and flew away with the singing birds (Gen. iii. 23 f.). In Quauhtitlan he uprooted a tree by throwing a stone; in Tlalnepantla he left the print of hand and foot upon a rock. In Cholula he came to be worshipped as a god—a reminiscence of the fact that originally he was no god. After twenty years he wished to return to his native Tlapallan, "the red land," but reached only so far as Coatzacualco, "serpent-stone," and promised at once to return to the Toltecs. Once he actually attempted to return, but, since the Toltecs had meanwhile formed connections with the native races, they would have been hateful to him. He died at Coatzacualco. According to another version, he was brought back to Tlapallan, his early home, in a ship made of a coiled-up serpent.—In regard to all these legends we should not forget that they have come to us first of all through the medium of the Aztecs, and therefore not without considerable disfigurement, and certainly with Aztec transliterations or even translations of the proper names. The name Quetzalcoatl is, as has been already observed, an appellative predicate which the Aztecs gave to the Votan of the Toltecs, because in

[1] She is called by the Aztecs "our lady and mother, the first goddess who brought forth, who bequeathed the sufferings of childbirth to women as the tribute of death, and by whom sin came into the world." Prescott, *Mex.* p. 640. She is represented with a serpent beside her.

pictures he had alongside of him the emblem of a winged serpent,[1] while he was himself represented under the figure of a bearded man in a long robe. It is therefore certain that he was not originally represented as a serpent, but only stood in connection with the serpent; for it is instructive to notice that in Coatzacualco, the place where Quetzalcoatl meets his death, the serpent is regarded as nothing else than his tempter who had handed him that deadly draught. But it is, on the other hand, quite conceivable that in Quetzalcoatl we have a combination of the particular tribal ancestor Votan-Japhet and the primitive world-ancestor Adam. The traditions of all races are indeed full of such confusions and identifications.— Traces of this tradition are met with here and there throughout Central America. In Yucatan, a god, Cuculcan, seems to have been worshipped, and his worshippers were called *cocome*, "serpents." In Humboldt's *Monuments* (84), Tezcatlipoca is represented hewing a serpent in pieces. Hence Tezcatlipoca was not originally, as in the Aztec version of that tradition, the tempter himself, but the opponent of the tempting serpent. With this, too, corresponds the feature of the Aztec tradition, according to which Tezcatlipoca "lets himself down from heaven." He was without doubt originally thought of as a celestial being, perhaps as the promised serpent slayer, and then the Aztecs confounded him with the tempter. They found him represented with a serpent alongside of him, and so might regard that as his own emblem, and then gradually, instead of designating him "the man *with* the winged serpent," they would come to call him "the winged serpent." Comp. § 298, where this conjecture is confirmed in a very convincing manner.

[1] Müller, p. 284.

E.—Immigrations of the Tchuktchis, about 1220, and Mongols, about 1281.

§ 297. *The Chichimecs and Nahuatlacs.*

The possibility of an immigration from Asia over into America by way of the Aleutian Islands does not admit of the slightest doubt. It has been shown by Nordenskiold [1] that since the earliest times a brisk trade was maintained between the one continent and the other. No scientific demonstration can be rendered more concisely, or supported by more convincing evidence, than that which can be adduced as to the Mongolian origin, in the strict sense of the word, of the Sonora nationalities.[2] It is specially worthy of note that the Sonora-Aztec family of languages belongs to the Finnic-Mongolian linguistic order. It thus possesses nearly all those roots and stems which, in part originally Ugrian, in part originally Mongolian (§ 264, *Obs.* 2), had already become in a remote antiquity, through mutual contact and subjugations, the common possessions of both peoples, of the Mongols in the narrower sense, including Mandshurians, Kalmucks and Kirghis, and the Ugro-Finnic tribes, including among others the Tchuktchis or Tchurtchis. The letter *f* is wanting in the Sonora-Aztec languages as well as in the Mongolian. The Aztec as well as the Mongolian has lost the *r;* the modification of the Sonora *t* into the Aztec *tl* has its analogue in the *tl* of the Tchuwashis and Tcheremissis; the change of construction from the agglutinate to the inflectional is made just as in the Ugro-Finnic; but this is the most important point, that nearly all those stems which are common to the Sonora languages and the Aztec, as well as those which belong exclusively to the Sonora languages, are most distinctly proved to be identical with Ugro-Mongolian stems; (for the

[1] *Die Umsegelung Asiens u. Europas auf der Vega*, Leipzig 1882, Bd. ii. pp. 80–83; comp. also p. 101.

[2] On this idea see above, § 291, 292.

proof of this see *Obs.*) A second point is the calendar. The Mongolians represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and also, according to Przewalski, the several years of a twelve years' cycle, by the figures of animals. The Aztecs have figures for the representation of twelve successive days. We may now compare the two series side by side:[1]—

Mongol.	*Aztec.*	*Mongol.*	*Aztec.*
1. *Chulungu*, mouse	Reed	7. *Mori*, horse	The ecliptic
2. *Ukyr*, cow	Knife	8. *Choni*, sheep	Dog's tail
3. *Bar*, tiger	Panther	9. *Metschi*, ape	Ape
4. *Tollaj*, hare	Hare	10. *Tastja*, hen	Eagle
5. *Lu*, dragon	Lizard	11. *Nockoj*, dog	Dog
6. *Mogo*, serpent	Serpent	12. *Gackaj*, swine	House

The variations may be explained on the supposition that there were no oxen, sheep, horses, and swine in Mexico. The substituted signs (reed, knife, etc.), derived from the Indian calendar, can only have come to the Ugro-Mongols through Buddhist missionaries.—This brings us to the third point in the proof of their similarity: the quite undeniable traces of Buddhist institutions in the Aztec religion. We have the cloisters and seminaries, the sacerdotal theocracy, the dress of the priests, precisely similar to that of the Buddhists, and a whole mass of old-world stories of a purely Buddhist type, all of which we shall more closely examine in the following paragraphs. But now we call attention to the fact that (§ 265) in the twelfth century Buddhism obtained an entrance among the Mongols, and in the thirteenth century, in A.D. 1260, became the national religion. At the same time we also call attention to this, that this Buddhism of that period, and especially among the Mongols, was nothing more than an outward, impotent form and whitewash, which pushed itself into favour by its easy compliance with the rites of the national religion. Thus, then, it is perfectly explained how Buddhist institutions and traditions came to be combined among the Aztecs with a kind of worship that was not Buddhist, but

[1] A. v. Humboldt, *Vues des Cordill.* Prescott, *Mexico*, p. 644. Rauch, *Einheit d. Mensch.* p. 318.

essentially Mongolian. But here we come upon a question which demands careful investigation. We meet with not one, but two successive immigrations of distinctly different kinds. The first was that of the Chichimecs somewhere about A.D. 1170 (see § 291). These were, according to the Aztec accounts, a wild hunting tribe, nomads. They were soon followed by the Acolhuacs, a people related to them; and then, probably about A.D. 1178, these were followed by the Nahuatlacs; and Sahagan says that the Acolhuacs were themselves a Nahuatlac tribe. And indeed among the six Nahuatlac tribes the tribe of the Colhuacs is reckoned, and A-Colhuacs means nothing else than Water-Colhuacs, and therefore simply designates the Colhuacs who dwell around Lake Tezcuco. If, then, we only refuse to close our eyes in uncritical credulousness to the clear light of day, we shall be forced to admit that there is no trace of three, but only of two immigrations, namely, that of the Chichimecs, and later that of the Nahuatlacs. "Later," I say, though I do not at all believe that the latter followed at the heels of the former. That immigrating civilised race could not certainly know how long the nomadic tribes which they met with had been already in possession of the land, and this nomadic race could not itself have any very certain chronological tradition in regard to such a matter, since, owing to its wild unsettled habits of life, it could not have any reliable chronological system. This only has been recorded, "that they had not been long" in the land. Thus the chronological and historical statements of the Aztecs on this point would not be absolutely credible, even if they had been clear. But they are not by any means clear. So ambiguous were the old picture-writings of the Aztecs, that their editors (§ 291) differ from one another to the extent of half, and even a whole century. We shall therefore have to look out for a more reliable basis for our chronology. Two fixed points are given us,—Buddhism, which could not have made its appearance in a Mongolian tribe in a manner so thoroughly dominating the

constitution of the priesthood and of religion before A.D. 1260;[1] and, in the next place, the highly developed stage of culture reached by the Aztecs, which was not that of the Tungusic, or Mandshurian, or Tartarian nomads, could not certainly have been found among the Mongols themselves earlier than the establishment of the empire of Temudjin, or more exactly, not before the beginning of the reign of Kublai-Khan in A.D. 1260.

A. The Chichimecs were nomads; they may have passed over the Aleutian Islands into America about A.D. 1220, driven out before Genghis Khan Temudjin. It may not have been they who brought the Fo-worship into Central America; this may have been done at a later date by Buddhist missionaries, who were met with among the Nahuatlac tribes.[2] There is no reason for assuming that Buddhism was known or accepted by the Chichimecs. When Temudjin after the overthrow of Ungh Khan had conquered the Naymans in A.D. 1204, and made his entrance into the country of the Tanjuts or Tang-hiangs in A.D. 1205, and soon thereafter, in A.D. 1211, the Mandshurian tribe of the Khitanis, confederate with him, cast off the yoke of the Tchuktchis dwelling in the north-east, while a portion of those Tchuktchis, whose name is nearly the same in sound as that of the Chichimecs,[3] may have passed over the Aleutian Islands into America along with other Mandshurian tribes.

B. But when did the Nahuatlacs come, and who were they? —The Aztecs, and, according to their accounts, the Acolhuacs

[1] Hiouen-Thsang (§ 293, *Obs.* 1) made a Buddhist missionary effort among the Kirghis about A.D. 600, but must have had small success, since even in the time of Genghis Khan there is no trace of Buddhism among the Ugro-Tartars.

[2] It did take place, however, before Ahuizotl, Emperor of Mexico, conquered Yucatan in A.D. 1500, but probably at the time when the Aztecs abandoned Buddhism (see § 299). At that time, about A.D. 1350, the expelled Buddhist priests fled towards the south.

[3] The *k* in Tchuktchi is not essential, for alongside of Tchuktchi we meet with the name in the form of Tchurtchi. It was an unimportant guttural sign before the percussive guttural *tsch*, a sign which might easily happen to fall out by and by.

also had attained a considerable degree of culture. Among the Aztecs, however, the culture was not very deep. The fact that they still wrought the land with the spade and not with the plough, shows plainly enough that the race to which they belonged had not long before ceased from the habit of the nomad and adopted the fixed and residential mode of life. They cultivated cotton and wove it into garments, but the loom was unknown to them. They had no weights or measures, no coined money, but gold dust in quills, tin and copper stalks, and cacoa cobs served the purposes of exchange. Merchants carried on a trade which, in a fashion truly characteristic of Upper Asia, was conveyed by caravans through the country; and slaves, precious stones, cochineal, pottery, and grain were offered for sale. They were able to work in bronze, making it for tools in the proportion of 8 of copper to 1 of tin, and for other purposes in other proportions,[1] just as in China. But more frequently they made their tools of obsidian. Flesh and venison they used only at their feasts; the lakes afforded them fish daily. The cultivation of maize had been carried on in the country before their arrival. From the stalks of the maize they extracted sugar; the *Agave mexic.*, in Aztec *maquai, me,* afforded them paper, string, nails, needles, roofing, and the drink called *Pulque.* They built large cities, bridges of wickerwork, not like the Peruvians of stone, instead of which they often had recourse to simple ferries. Their highways are not nearly so magnificent as those of the Peruvians. They had also a well-developed system of posts. Their architecture was symmetrical, but is far inferior to that of the Toltecs, and very decidedly behind that of the ancient cultured race of Central America. Their animal figures were far better drawn than the stiff, expressionless figures of the gods with great flat brows, with which they adorned their temples and the entrances to their houses. That they had no naked figures of gods is what might be expected in a people of Mongolian extraction. In their frescoes and other paintings

[1] Rougemont, *Bronzezeit*, § 24.

there is no perspective; profile figures show the eye *en face*. In the Aztec hieroglyphics preserved in the Dresden Library, we meet with series of animal figures sitting upright on their haunches, with peculiarly elongated snouts or jaws with fearful teeth. Precisely similar animals on blue Chinese porcelain about twenty or twenty-four inches high are to be seen in the royal collection of porcelain at Dresden. This points clearly to a connection between the culture and mythology of the Aztecs and the Chinese.—The art of feather ornamentation was known to them as well as to the primitive Malayan population of California (§ 280), and was probably learnt from the latter. Their constitution was a feudal one. The emperor, always a brother or nephew, never a son, of his predecessor, was chosen from the reigning family by four electoral princes who belonged to the highest rank of the nobles, and was crowned by the Prince of Tezcuco. The nobles had hereditary landed property; the peasants (*macaque*) were the bondmen of the nobles, but could be transferred for a life-time with the estates. The crown, too, and the priesthood had land and bondmen. The artisans in cities were divided into guilds. The nobles provided a militia out of their own slaves; warriors of noble birth formed the core and phalanx of the army. The priests took part in the battle; tactics were carefully planned; the weapons were clubs, spears, wooden swords inlaid with obsidian, javelins with obsidian points, slings, and bows. The nobles wore golden and silver armour and an animal-shaped helmet; the common soldiers, quilted cotton doublets. The emperor exercised absolute authority through his officers, who were chosen from the nobility. The judges, named by the emperor, gave decisions from which there was no appeal. The penal code was of Draconic severity, and a death sentence was given for even trivial offences. Thieves, debtors, and prisoners of war were delivered up to slavery, but also men might if they chose sell their wives as slaves, and parents their children. When we consider, too, the rudeness of their music, which

simply amounted to wild noise with empty shells and fifes; the coarseness of their singing; the inartistic character of their theatre, where the performers either appeared dressed as animals or as suppliants who cried to some particular god for help, but put in his mouth simply preposterous burlesque answers; and, finally, when we consider especially the cannibal savagery of their human offerings, associated with the eating of the victims (§ 298),—we have presented to us such a picture of their general condition as we should expect of a horde sprung from the empire and army of Genghis Khan. But the Mongols must have already, previous to their migrations, come into contact with an actually cultured race, such as the Chinese, since, besides the Chinese art of alloying bronze, which they might indeed have learnt from the remnants of the Toltecs, they had also made respectable attainments in astronomical science, so that they knew the causes of the eclipses, which was not the case among the Incas, inserted an intercalary day in every fourth year of 365 days, and again inserted an intercalary day every 104 years, a remarkable approach to the accuracy of the Grègorian calendar!—Now it is a historical fact that after Mangu Khan had conquered China, his successor, Kublai Khan (1260–94), introduced Chinese culture and customs,[1] that he caused a book on astronomy and chronology to be written by a Persian mathematician, Dshemaleddin, that he gathered scholars of all sorts at his court, formed a high school (*han-lin*), appointed a Tibetan Buddhist, Pasepa, high priest and lama, and that under him the Mongols were changed in character and habits, and from being nomads became settled, civilised people. But as the incessant wars continued, one could suppose that this culture, at least in the army, could not be very deep, and that the Mongols with all their increase of knowledge and artistic skill retained many of their old savage habits. Those Mongols who, as we have seen, made their appearance as Nahuatlacs, consisting of a multitude of different but closely related

[1] De Guignes, *Gesch. der Hunnen und Turken*, iii. 154.

tribes, could not have effected an entrance into that continent before the beginning of the reign of Kublai Khan. But we can state precisely even the year of their arrival. Having resolved to make an attack upon Japan, where an ambassador of his had been killed, in A.D. 1281 Kublai Khan fitted out an army of a hundred thousand men, among whom, as we might expect, there were not only Mongols, but hordes from various subject Mongolian and Tartarian tribes, and sailed with a confederate army from Corea in a fleet. This squadron, however, was completely shattered by a dreadful storm; a number of ships fell into the hands of the Japanese, who are said to have killed 70,000 Coreans and Chinese and 30,000 Mongols. What became of the other ships with the other 70,000 Mongols, Kublai Khan does not say.[1] We think that an answer may be fairly risked. The routed host of Kublai and the group of tribes known as Nahuatlacs precisely correspond to one another like two coinciding triangles. The multitude of different but closely-related tribes, the advancing culture which had reference purely to military matters, the distinction between officers and soldiers, which must have quite naturally of itself grown up into a distinction of nobles and serfs, the elective emperor from the want of a hereditary royal family, a mass of scholarly acquirements, the possessors of which, the Buddhist priests, were joined to the army, and, finally, Buddhism itself, which as a ceremonial varnish covered over the inward rudeness of the warrior hordes,—here everything explains itself down to the slightest detail. The Aztecs tell that they, nominally four hundred years before the landing of Cortes, but really only four Mexican cycles of fifty-two years, had lived in a country lying to the north, Aztlan, which Humboldt rightly identifies with California, and from that were driven southwards. But it is just to California that the North Pacific current would carry the ships which, shattered by the typhoon, were placed at its mercy (see § 280). Seeing that they were a fully-equipped army,

[1] De Guignes, *Gesch. d. Hunnen*, iii. 187 f.

they would have no difficulty in making from thence a victorious advance; and the knowledge of the lately-arrived Chichimec race dwelling in the south and speaking the same Mongolian language, with whom, too, they were certainly more closely related than with the naked Malays of California, must have induced men in want of wives to make a rapid advance southwards. The union, too, of cultured Colhuacs with the nomadic Chichimecs in the empire of Tezcuco (§ 291) is quite explicable on the same grounds of marriage necessities. But how does this agree with our chronology? According to their tradition, the Aztecs were driven, about A.D. 1091, from Aztlan, but made their first entrance into Mexico (Anahuac) in A.D. 1178 — ninety years for five hundred miles![1] Here they remained for fifty years subject to the Nahuatlac tribe of the Colhuacs, but then gained their freedom, and founded the capital city of Tenochtitlan or Mexico.[2] This brings us to A.D. 1228, and yet they themselves place the finding of Mexico one hundred and ninety-years before the arrival of Cortes, that is, in the year 1325! They say that in A.D. 1352 their first king was elected, and that he had ten successors. This latter calculation of years may be correct; but since they must already have had a residence under the rule of the Colhuacs, and since it is only in legends that cities originate from resolutions and decrees, but in reality by natural growth, we may assume that such

[1] The Huns under Attila in A.D. 451 rushed down from Pannonia upon Orleans, over seven hundred miles, in one year.

[2] Tenochtitlan means "the cactus on a stone." According to the legend, they saw on a rock at the Tezcuco lake a cactus on which sat an eagle with a serpent in its claws, and they took this as a divine token that there they should build a city. Whether the city had its name from this circumstance, and the Aztecs were called from their city Tenochen, Tenochichi, or whether it was not conversely the city that was after them called "the Stone of the Tenochen," and that this gave rise to the legend, any reader may decide for himself. The name Tenochichi seems to indicate a combination of a Mongolian tribe "Teno" with the Chichimecs.—So, too, the place Chichomoztoc had its name from the Chichimecs,—"the cave of the Chichano,"—but the Chichimecs had their name not from Chichi, dog, but, as already said, from Tschuktsche, Tschüktsche.

also was true regarding Tenochtitlan. The city as the original residence of the Tenochichi, that is, the Aztecs, must have grown up while these were still under the rule of the Colhuacs; then in A.D. 1352 the Aztecs gained their freedom, and elected their own king. Had they been for fifty years in the country subject to the Colhuacs, this would give A.D. 1302 as the date of the migration of the Aztecs into the country of Mexico occupied by the Colhuacs and other Nahuatlac tribes; and in fact the twenty-one years from A.D. 1281 to A.D. 1302 will be perfectly sufficient for the journey from the Old California down into Mexico,—giving twenty-six miles for every year!—Here, then, for the first fifty years, down to A.D. 1352, the tribe of the Acolhuacs, who had settled in Tezcuco, held the supremacy over the other tribes. The Aztecs themselves relate that they received their laws from the Acolhuacs. These had distinguished themselves over the other tribes in respect of culture, had reared stable dwellings, and had as king in Tezcuco a lyric poet. In the year 1352 the Aztecs secured their independence and elected their own king, and the attitude which they assumed toward the Acolhuacs was like that of Sparta toward Athens. When in A.D. 1418 the Acolhuacs declared war with the Tepanecs, also a Nahuatlac tribe, and were subdued by them, their king, Nezahualcoyotl, called in the assistance of the Aztecs. These overcame the Tepanecs in A.D. 1425, destroyed their capital, Azcapozalco, and entered into a league with Tezcuco and Tlacopan, in which they assumed to themselves the supremacy, said to be a hundred years long, but actually existing only ninety-three years, from A.D. 1425 till A.D. 1518. This league, however, did not really continue until A.D. 1518, but already toward the end of the fifteenth century this supremacy was converted into an absolute sovereignty from which the Otomies and the Tlascalans, perhaps Toltec tribes,[1] emancipated them-

[1] The monosyllabic language of the Otomies has in its one-syllabled words, in respect of structure and vocabulary, according to Naxera (*de lingua Othomitorum, Transactions of the Amer. Phil Soc.* vol. v. Philad.

selves. About A.D. 1500 the Emperor Ahuitzotl conquered Yucatan and Guatemala; and Montezuma II. began to reign in A.D. 1502. Thus the period during which this league was in force may be put at fifty instead of a hundred years; it was an Aztec *sæculum*, not a European.

Obs.—I use the sign ss. to indicate the South Sonora languages (Cora, Tarahumeric, Tepeguanic, Cahita); ns. for the Northern Sonora languages (Soshonic, Wihinasht, etc.); es. for the East Sonora dialects (that of the Comantshes, etc.); a. for the Aztec language. A single s. means the whole of the Sonora languages collectively.—I render the *ch* of words recorded by the Spaniards in the Spanish fashion by *tsch*, the *c* preceded by an *e* or an *i* by *s*, or for distinguishing the decidedly guttural origin of it by *ç*, the *hu* by *hw*, *gu* by *gw*, *j* by *ch* (to express the guttural, as in *machen*, *lachen*, only somewhat weaker); but the letter *x*, which the Spaniards used in order to express the sharp *h* of the Aztecs, sounded *sh* (the French *j*), I render by *shh* (see Humboldt's *Werke*, vi. p. 168); *z*, which sounds like a weak *s*, I render by the Greek ζ.

I. Stars, Elements, Light, Colours.—1. Day, Sun, ns. *taba*, *tapa*, ss. *taica*, *taa*, *tasse*, es. *tabi*, *tap*, correspond to the Finnic *taiwas*, heaven, which does not come from the Finnic *taipua*, "to bow," but is originally connected with Sanscr. *div*, "to shed beams." The Turkish *tang-ri* is related to the Finnic *taiwas*, as the ss. *taica* to the ns. *tawa*, as the Old High Germ. *tak* to the Old Latin *dius*.—2. Heaven, ns. *toke*, ss. *tehweca*, and Sun, *taica*, *tasse*, come from the same root as the Finnic *tähte*, "star."—3. Heaven, s. *re-gwega*, *re-wega*, *te-hwecca* (*tecca*), *il-hwica*, Tungus. *ngängnjä*, Aleut. *inikch*.—4. Moon, ss. *metscha*, *massade*, *mushh*, ns. *mushha*, *munga*, *mojah*, es. *mea*, a. *meeζ*; the root *m-k*, *m-g*, which appears as the radical in all these forms, corresponds exactly to the Tungus. *bjego*, "moon" (Mandsh. *bia*), for in the Ugrian languages the initial *m* is generally transmuted into another labial. For the rest, that root *m-g* seems to be derived from the same primitive root MA as the Sanscr. *mas*, *μήν*, Goth. *mena* and *menoths*, Old High Germ. *manot*, Lith. *menu*, Zend

1835) and Ampère (*Revue des deux mondes*, 1853, Oct.), great resemblance to the Chinese, so that we may regard the Otomies as a part of the Chinese-Toltec immigration. They were indeed a very savage race; they provisioned themselves on their warlike expeditions with slaughtered children! More precisely, the Otomies may be identified with the remnants of that Corean-Chinese auxiliary army which had been driven to America at the same time with the Nahuatlacs. On the Tlascalans, see § 300.

maonk (already with *k !*), Polyn. *mahina* (already with *h !*).—5. Star, s. *çitlallin*, Ugr. *csillag*.—6. Night, dark, black, ns. *tugaguo*, *tuhukwit*, *tuwit*, ss. *tucu*, *tschoca*, *teca*, es. *tohop*, a. *tlilli* (from *tec-li*), Tungus. *tiniwo* (and *tinu*, "stars"), Turk. *tün*, Mong. *dagn*, "black."—7. Colour,—*witja*,—*wit*, *öi* (*t*), from the primitive root VID, εἶδον, Lat. *videre*.—8. White, ns. *toha-k-witja*, *tuscha-öi*, ss. *tossa*, *toshha*, *toa*, es. *totschoa*, *toschop*, from the primitive root DIK, Sanscr. *diç*, δείκνυμι, Lat. *dico*, Goth. *teih*, Old High Germ. *zeigon*, Mong. *tagha* ("to foresee, prophesy"), *dsagan*, *tschagan* ("white"), Finnic *taika*, "a premonition;" white means glancing, sending forth a gleam.—9. Red, Mandsh. *chaksan*, *dshaksangga*, Chin. *tseè*, es. *ecksa*, *ekatsch*, ns. *anga-wit*, *atsakwitja*, ss. *tsestana*, *sita*.—10. Fire, Sanscr. *dr*, δαίω, Finn. *tuli*, "fire," Mong. *tül*, "to burn," Tungus. *toggo*, *tua*, and Mandsh. *tuwa*, *tua*, "fire," ns. *daibor*, *tschuwat*, ss. *tait*, *tai*, a. *tle*.—11. Heat, s. and a. *tona*, Mandsh. *tuwi*, *tua*, "fire," Tungus. *tua*. Hence ss. *taasa*, and es. *taartsch*, "summer."—12. To catch fire (see No. 139).—13. Smoke, s. *cu-busci*, *buitschi*, Finn. *pukk*, Turk. bogh, "vapour."—14. To extinguish, s. *tutzane* (reduplicated), Mong. and Mandsh. sun.—15. Water, ns. and es. *pa*, ss. *ba* (hence *bagui* and *bibei*, "to drink"), Finn. *wuo*, "to flow," from the same primitive root PA, BA, as βάπτω, Lat. *bibo*, *poto*, Polyn. *pape* and *wai*. This primitive root is closely related to a second, VA, VAD, in ὕδωρ, Lat. *udor* and *vadum*, Slav. *voda*, Old High Germ. *wazar*, Finn. *wete*, see No. 189.—16. Water, ns. *ooksche*, ss. *ahti*, *achte*, *aqui*, a. *a* (Tarahum *pa-ugui*), Sanscr. *ahwa*, Lat. *aqua*, Lapp. *okte*, "rain," Turk. *jagh*, "rain," Mandsh. *aga*, "rain," Tschuw. *jog*, "to flow," *jaki*, "river," Turk. *ak*, "to flow," Finn. *joki*, "river," Ugr. *jo*, and Mong. *ja*, "river."—17. Wind, ns. *hikwa*, ss. *haica-la*, *aca-te*, a. *eca*, Finn. *henka*, *angga*, "to breathe," *henki*, "breath."—18. Earth, s. *gue*, *tschutschti*, Finn. *waha*, Mandsh. *weche*, Aleut. *tschikik*.—19. Stone, ns. *timpi*, *tupa*, es. *tupe*, *teppa*, *tetech*, *tete*, a. *te*, Mong. *tamir*, "firmness, hardness" (Turk. *timur* and Mong. *temür*, "iron").—20. Dust, s. *tschuet*, Mong. *choso* and Turk. *chasy*, "to grind, to rub."—21. Sand, dust, a. *teuh*, Mong. *toghosan*, *toosun*, Tschuw. *tos*.—22. Brown, s. and a. *camo* (perhaps as the colour of the sand, from Mong. *chomaki*, Turk. *kumak*, "sand").—23. Cold, ice, snow, s. and a. *çe*, "ice," *çebi*, "to freeze," *cubai*, "ice, snow," s. *coboja*, *kepaliki*, "snow," Lapp. *jägna*, "ice," Finn. *jää* and Mandsh. *dschuche* and Mong. *dshige*, "frost."

II. God, Man, Spirit, Mental States.—24. God, a. *teo*, from primitive root DIV (Sanscr. *dêva*, Lat. *deus*; Chin. *thîan*, Central Am. *teo*, Old Peruv. *titi*). The appellative of God as "Lord," Moqui. *tokkil*, a. *teuc*, is to be distinguished from the former. See No. 50. The root *teo*, however, is not found in the Sonora languages. It seems that the Aztecs, when they returned

from Buddhism to their own national religion (§ 299), first adopted from their Corean neighbours, *teo* as an appellative of God.—25. Man, s. *teodi, teata, tehoche, tevtt*, es. *tywoo*, from a root *ted* = *sed*, Mong. *sed*, "to think," *sed-kyl*, "heart, mind," Mordw. *sod*, "to think, to know," Finn. *syddame*, "heart," Chin. *ta*, "man."—26. Men, s. *iorem*, Lapp. *olma*, Mandsh. *nialma*, Sanscr. *nara*.—27. Heart, spirit, s. *sura, sulala, khura, joli*, a. *jolli* (Nicaragua *julio*, "heart," *joli*, "to live"), not from the Finn. *el*, "to live," but identical with the Lapp. *jur-te*, "to think," Mong. *dshurik*, "heart," Turk. *jürek*, "heart."—28. To know, to understand, s. and a. *mati*, Mong. *mede*, Finn. *micti* (Lapp. *miäle*, Turk. *bil*), from the same primitive root as Sanscr. *man*, μανθάνω, Lat. *meditari*, Slav. *mineti*, Old High Germ. *meinjan*.—29. To will, s. and a. *nequi, naqui, natschki*, from the Ugro-Mong. root *ne*, "to see," in the sense of "perceive, understand."—30. To pray, s. *tani, tane*, a. *tlani*, originally in the sense of "to give to understand," comp. Mong. and Turk. *tani* (Ugr. *tan*), "to understand."—31. To crave, to love, Mong. *küse* and Finn. *kysy*, "to crave," Mandsh. *gosi*, "to love," s. *ga-ne, gai-le, ga-la*, "to love," *ga* and *qualli*, "dear, good." (Connected with this is also Finn. *kauni*, Mong. *ghuwai*, "good, fair.") One thinks naturally of Old High Germ. *gërôn, gërên*, "to crave," Goth. *gairns*, "desirous," Lat. *goliare*, "to long eagerly," and *gula*; and yet there is a closer connection with Old High Germ. *kiusan*, "to choose, to elect."—32. To conceal, Finn. *kaisa*, Turk. *gis*, s. and a. *üsci-di, itschi* (hence *itschtaca*, "secretly").—33. To treat as an enemy, ss. *nemiki*, "to take vengeance," *namoca*, "to quarrel," also "to haggle," *nahtsche*, "to act toward, behave," seems to be compounded of *na-qui*, "to will," and *maka*, "evil" (see No. 35).—34. To lament, s. *soaque, soashhe, tschoca*, comp. Mong. *chokija* (Mandsh. *koki*, Finn. *köyhä*), "poor, miserable."—35. To be afraid, s. *maha, mahe, mahwi*, comp. Finn. *paha*, "bad," Mong. *bogha*, "to abhor," and *magho*, "evil."—36. To be anxious, a. *qualani*, Finn. *kyölä* and Mong. *chuli, ghol*, "to feel loathing" (comp. Old High Germ. *chwâla*, "pain").—37. Sin, s. *tatacoli*, a. *tlatlacolli*, compounded of *tak, ta-qui*, "to do" (Finn. *teke*) and *qual*, "to cause disgust, to be offensive." See Nos. 164 and 36.

III. Relationship, Sex, Service.—38. Name, s. *tehwa, tutuga, teua*, a. *tocai*, from the root *dic, tagha*, see No. 8.—39. Father, ss. *ja-oppa*, Mong. *aba, bau* (comp. Lapp. *oppa*, "sister"), Corean *api*.—40. Father, ss. *atzai, achai, ogga, ocha*, Yakut. *aga* (comp. Mong. *acha*, "uncle").—41. Mother, ss. *mama*, Finn. *emo*, "mother," Mandsh. *ama*, "aunt," *mama*, "grandmother," from the primitive root MA.—42. Wife, s. *quenna, cuna, mo-goni, mu-gui, muki* (with the Sonora prefix *mu*, "thine"), a. *çihua*, from the Mong. root KE in the Mong. *eke*, "mother," Mandsh.

checke, "wife," from the same root as in Sanscr. *gani*, γυνή, Goth. *quino*.—43. Wife, *uahaipe*, *wepî*, ss. *ubi*, *upi*, *hubi*, *cubi*, es. *meishpe*, either from Malay-Polyn. *bai*, *wahine*, "wife," and the Sonora suffix *po*, "thine," or (if the labial should belong to the root) from the primitive root WA, WI, constructed like the Old High Germ. *wîp*, *wîb*. From *cube* and *amu* (No. 41) is compounded s. *cube-ameke*, *cune ame*, "bridegroom."—44. Youth, son, ss. *telpotsch-ti*, "youth," and *itsch-potsch-tli*, "maiden" (Buschmann, *Spuren*, etc. p. 94); *potsch* means "youth" (son or daughter), and this is confirmed by the Tepeguan. *viapuguli*, "youth;" it is the primitive root PA, PU, PAU, which we meet with in the Lat. *pau-c-us*, *pau-ll-us*, *pau-per*, and in Finn. *poika* (Esthon. *pocga*), "son, boy," also here with the diminutive suffix *ka*; *puguli* corresponds precisely to the Lat. *pauculus*. In Aztec we come across the word as the name of the god *Hwitzi-li-potsch-tli*, *Hwitzi*, "the son," or "the young." Also the Sonora form *batschi*, "brother," is identical with *potsch*.—45. Child, a. *cane*, is the root *kan*, *gan*, *ken*, recurring in all the Ugro-Finnic and Mongolian languages as the diminutive suffix. In Tungus. *kunga-kan*, "little boy," Aleut. *kingugikch*, this root appears twice as stem and as diminutive suffix; in Esthon. *poisikenne*, "little son," it is combined with the previous No. 44. The Low German diminutive ending *-ken*, *-chen*, is identical with it.—46. Son, daughter, s. *mara*, *mala*, related to Mong. *amu*, *eme*, "wife."—47. Grandfather, s. *catso*, *jatsu*, Mandsh. *dshedshe*, "father," Mong. *etsi*, Finn. *isä*, Lapp. *attsche*, Tschuw. *attje*, Turk. *ata*, Aleut. *atan*, *atach*.—48. Uncle, aunt, s. *tata*, from the same root *ata*.—49. Father-in-law, etc., s. *mon*, *muni*, Mong. *amu*, "father," comp. Mandsh. *amu*, "aunt" (Old High Germ. *ôheim*, Anglo-Sax. *eâm*, "uncle," Lat. *homo*).—50. Lord, s. *tecual*, *tecua*, a. *tecut*, *teuc*, not likely from the Mong. *toghol*, "to stride away over something" (*dolgin*, "billow," Finn. *tulwa*, "overflow"), since the sharp vowel is constant, but rather from DIC, Nos. 38 and 8, "giving direction," pointing, guiding.—51. Servants, s. and a. *teatsch*, Finn. *tacha*, and Mandsh. *dacha*, "to follow, to stand or go behind any one," Cor. *tsjong*, Chin. *chsūng*, "to follow, to obey."

IV. Parts of the Body, their Functions and their Diseases. —52. Bodies, upright bodies, s. *taca-ua*, a. *tlac*, Mong. *tok*, "standing upright."—53. Bones, a. *omi*, *oo*, Mong. *omok*.—54. Skin, to splint, s. *shhipehua*, *besuma*, *butschume*, from *shhi*, "skin," Corean *sar*, "skin," Mong. *sari* (comp. Old High Germ. *scintjan*, "to splint"), and a stem *buk* instead of *bulk*, *burk*, which we seem to meet with again in Finn. *purka*, "to divide," Mong. *bolgha*, "to tear, to break."—55. Veins, sinews, nerves, s. *tatta*, *tattat*, *tata*, a. *tlalhwa*, from a root *tan*: Finn. *tan*, "to stretch," Mong. *tate*, "to expand" (identical with τείνω, No. 87),

corresponding to the Goth. *senawa*, Basque *zaina*.—56. Head, Moqui. *quatah*, ss. *coba*, a. *quai* (hence s. *kupala*, *kupaca*, *cubi*, *kepoati*, "hair of the head"), from the primitive root KAP in Sanscr. and Javan. *kapalas*, κεφαλή, Lat. *caput*, Goth. *haubith*, Mong. *kabala*, Finn. *kallo*, Aleut. *kamga*.—57. Head, ns. and es. *moola*, *moo*, *muuti*, from *mo*, "thine," and *olo*, the latter either from Mong. *tol*, Turk. *diil*, "head," or more probably a Malayan stem (Tagal. *olo*), Corean *möri*.—58. Brow, crown of the head, ss. *covara*, *coba*, ns. *cuwo*, es. *koveh*, also *quatzi*, a. *qai* (hence a *qua-quahui*, "head-tree," that is, horns of a stag), from the same primitive root as No. 56, comp. Mong. *kabala*, "skull," Finn. *kallo*, "skull," Mong. *chabar* and Kalm. *chamar*, "countenance."—59. Face, countenance, s. *neric* (and *neçi*, "to come to light," *neshhi*, "bright"), from the root *ne*, in Finn. *nah* and Mordw. *nee*, "to see," Mong. *nighor*, "countenance," Corean *nun*, "eye," *nas*, "countenance," Tangut. *nik*, "eye," *nidun*, "eye."—60. Eye, to see, ns. *puse*, *pusi*, *pusiki*, es. *puile*, Corean *pur*, "to see," Mandsh. *facha*, "pupil of the eye," Turk. *bak*, "to see" (originally connected with Lat. *oc-ulus*, Goth. *vakan*, Old High Germ. *wachon*, "to have the eyes open," as also with the Polyn. *wakk*, "to see").—61. Ear, to hear, s. *kauke*, *kaqui*, *kaje*, reduplicated from KA, which seems to be derived by dropping the final *r* from *kar* (Tungus. *kor-ot*, "ear," Finn. *chorwan*, "ear," *kuul*, "to hear," Corean *kui*, identical with Sanscr. *çru*, κλύειν, Old High Germ. *hôrjan*).—62. Ear, ns. *nongkawa*, ss. *naca*, *nashha*, es. *naki*, a. *nacaz*, see No. 68.—63. Mouth, s. and a. *cama*, and cheek, *cant*, Mong. *ama*, "mouth," Tungus. *amga*, Yakut. *hamun* (comp. Tungus. *ömun* and Yakut. *amga*, "lip").—64. Lip, ns. *timpa*, *tupa*, es. *tupa*, *teppa*, ss. *tuni*, a. *ten*, Corean *ip*, "mouth, lip," perhaps from Malay and Bug. *timu*, "mouth," which again is originally connected with στόμα, ταμιεῖν.—65. Tongue, Moqui. *linga*, Mandsh. *ilenggu* (originally related to the Lat. *lingua*, *lingere*, Goth. *lagjan*, "to lick").—66. Tongue, *anongin*, ss. *nunu*, *nini*, es. *ehk*, *aku*, a. *nene*, Tungus. *igni*, Aleut. *anagkch*.—67. To speak, s. *itoa*, Lapp. *jätte*, Turk. *ejit* (comp. Lat. *ajo*, Old High Germ. *jehan*, Chin. *jue*, "to tell," and *jû*, "yes").—68. To speak, speech, s. *noca*, *neoca*, *noqui*, a. *notza*, and s. *noba*, *nahwa* (whence No. 62, *naca*, *nongkawa*, "herring"); the roots NOC and NAB are related to one another as the similar and related roots LOC (Lat. *loqui*) and LAB (Ir. *labar*, Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Sax. *lippa*), the second of which appears in the Finn. *lau* and Mandsh. *leo*, "to speak."—69. To sing, s. *cuica*, *guica*, *huica*, not related to the Mong. *tschigin*, "ear," the *tsch* of which has as its base not *k* but *s* (Tungus. *sîn*, Mandsh. *schên*, "ear," Mong. *son-os*, "to hear," originally related to Lat. *sonare*), but perhaps identical with Lapp. *kwolk*, *kweik*, "to stream," Turk. *huigha*, and related to

the Goth. *qithan*, "to discourse."—70. Throat, windpipe, Finn. *kaula*, Mong. *choola* (related to Mong. *kelc*, Finn. *kieli*, Lapp. *holc*, Tungus. *goli*, Mandsh. *chula*, "to speak," and not related to קרא and קול, which appear in ns. *kuro*, whence *keupi*, *kuape*, *kuto*), ss. *kutala*, a *quetsch*.—71. Breath, *busica*, *putsche*, *puetza*, *ibusta*, *ibui*, *ibusane*, and *pitza*, "to blow a musical instrument," "to blow up a fire," hence also "to smelt," Finn. *puhu*, Hungar. *fui*, originally related to φυσάω, Sanscr. *puphulam*, Lith. *pusti*, Old High Germ. *wajan*, also with ἄημι, πνεῖν. From *ibui* comes *ihio*, "breath" (as Sanscr. *ahman* from *âtman*, Goth. *ahma* from πνεῦμα).—72. Nose, Finn. *nokka*, Tungus. *ongokto*, Aleut. *angusikch*, comp. Tangut. *chnaa*, ns. *jakuk*, ss. *jatschcala*, a. *jaca*, Corean *ko* (the East Sonora here instead of this *mulc*, *mui*, from Malay *mulut*, "countenance," Malagass *mulu*, "snout," unrelated to maul).—73. To scent, es. *okui*, ss. *chui*, Mong. *angki*, from same root with Finn. *angga*, No. 17.—74. To snort, sniff, s. *necui*, *tschui*, also from Mong. *angki*, Finn. *angga*, No. 17.—75. Tooth, ns. *tangwa*, *tama*, ss. *tami*, *tatamo*, *temela*, *remela*, es. *tan*, *tani*, a. *tlan*, evidently from a root *tan*, as in שֵׁן, Sanscr. *dantas*, ὀδούς, Lat. *dent-*, Goth. *tunthus*, Old High Germ. *zand*, *zan*; in the Ugro-Finn. languages it appears in Turk. *disch*, still more evidently in the Mong. languages in Tangut. *soo*, "tooth."—76. To eat, s. *hucua*, *cua*, *coai*, *bua*, a. *qua*, Malay (Tagal. *cain*, Tong. *ky*, Maori *kai*), from a primitive root which also lies at the basis of the stem χνάυω, Old High Germ. *chiuwan*, "to chew," Polyn. *kunjuh*, *kenjah*, *ngongo*, *gnow*, "to chew" (comp. § 270, *Obs.* 2).—77. Food, provender, *bittuga*, *hitaca*; to provide oneself, *bittu-te*, Mong. *budshu* (Turk. *pisch*, Hungar. *fo*), "to cook." Not related to Sanscr. *bidh*, Lat. *findo*, Old High Germ. *pîzan*, "to bite").—78. To hunger, s. *tuhriti*, Mong. *tora*, "want, famine."—79. To hunger, a. *teo-sihwi*, from *teo*, "man," and *sihwi* = Finn. *suikia*, "weak, thin, lean."—80. To drink, ns. *ivi*, *pahi*, *baji*, *iwi-pi* (compounded with *pa*, "water"), ss. *iwi*, *ie*, es. *ibig*, *ebet*, Finn. *juo*, Lapp. *jukka*, Mong. *ugku*. Hence s. *iivat*, *icuat*, "to thirst," and *nabaiti*, "wine" (an early example of the compounding of words).—81. Hand, ns. *mahat*, *mai*, ss. *moa*, *ma*, es. *mowa*, *masch-pa*, a. *mai* (also in the Pueblo language *mah*, New Californ. *menat*, Ketschua *maqui*), probably derived from Mong. *mata*, "to bow," Finn. *mutka*, "bowing," but which is itself again originally related to Lat. *movere* and *manus*.—82. Finger, ns. *mascho*, ss. *massaqui*, es. *massit*, compounded from two roots, which we meet with again in Mong. *ki-müsün*, *cho-mosum*, "claws," and Finn. *kinsy* (from *ki-m'sy*), Chin. *mù*, "finger." Comp. Tangut. *mdsu-gce*, "finger."—83. Flesh, ns. *atuku*, ss. *tucaja*, es. *tokko*, *teschca-p*, is the Malay *daging*, Bug. *dshuka*.—84. Flesh, a. *naca*, Finn. *nakka*, "skin," Mandsh. *notscho*, "skin" (related to naked,

nudus, Ir. *nochd*).—85. Back, hunch-backed, s. *topossi*, *teputzi*, a. *tepotzo*, comp. Finn. *typa* and Lapp. *täwa*, "hillock," Mong. *dobo*, "to project."—86. Navel, s. *sicu*, a. *shhik*, comp. Mandsh. *sekien*, "origin," Finn. *siki*, "to originate."—87. Filth, excrement, s. and a. *guekle*, *cuitla*, *cuita*, *tschuita*, originally related to Lat. *cacare*, Old High Germ. *quât*, and to κακός.—88. Knee, ss, *tono*, *tuna*, *tonna*, es. *tamap*, from the root *tan*, Finn. *tan-ot*, "to extend," Mong. *tata*, "to stretch," Sanscr. and Zend, *tan*, τείνω, Lat. *tendo*, Goth. *thanja*, Lith. *tempju*, Old High Germ. *dennan*, "to stretch."—89. Foot, leg, Finn. *kulke* (comp. Lat. *calcare*, *conculcare*), "foot," Mong. *cholkita*, "to wander," Tungus. *chalgan* and *kül*, "foot," Finn. *jalka*, "foot," Mandsh. *cholchon*, "leg" (also Finn. *juok*, Mong. *güjü*, Ostiak. *chog*, "to run"), ns. *kugi*, *koegen*, ss. *goqqui*, *hwoqui*, "foot."—90. Foot, s. *tala*, *tara*, Corean *tari*, "leg," Mong. *toghol* and *tôl*, "to stretch over" (comp, Lat. *talus*).—91. To go, s. *simi*, Mong. *jabu*. From the same *jabu* comes the word *ami*, "to go forth to hunt."—92. To run, to trot, ss. *judu*, Hungar. *jut*, "to reach the end," Mandsh. *io*, "to come."—93. To shave, to shear, s. *shhima*, from *shhi*, "skin," No. 54.—94. To scratch, s. *suku*, comp. Lapp. *suogge*, "to pierce, to bore," Turk. *sok*, "to pierce," *syk*, "to squeeze."—95. To scourge, *gwepa*, *gupe*, originally related to *vapulare*?—96. Wearied, *ibi*, Mandsh. *ebe*, Lapp. *ebere* (comp. Mong. *ebe*, "to be ill," and Lat. *hebes*).—97. To sleep, *cotschi*, comp. Turk. *gîdshe*, "night," Mong. *kedsho*, "late."—98. Ill, *cui*, *cocho*, *cocoa*, *cocore*, originally related to κακός.—99. To die, s. *mu*, *mue*, *mumu*, *mueque*, a. *miqui* (hence *muetschita*, *mictlan*, "the kingdom of the dead"); hence in the Ketschua language in Peru, "corpse," *munao* and *malqui*, and in Nicaragua *mique*, so undoubtedly the root *mu* was met with in the land of the Toltecs by the Chichimecs and the Nahuatlacs derived perhaps from Malag. *mati*, "to die;" but certainly it is originally connected with Sanscr. *mr*, Lat. *mori*.—100. Groans, s. *ooga*, *ugat*, Tschuw. *jog*, and Turk. *ag*, "to flow," see No. 16.

V. Quantity, Quality, Direction, Movement.—101. Great, s. *gu*, *huetscha*, es. *huei*, Mong. *ghowai*, *quai*, "important," Chin. *chào*, *hào*, Corean *kóu*, Finn. *kau-ni*.—102. Large, much, *gwelu*, *gweru* (where *gw* is a labial; comp. Nos. 119, 121, and 143). Finn. *paljo*, Vogul. *paul*, Hungar. *felu* (πολύς, Goth. *filu*, "much").—103. Small, s. and a. *pitzacæ*, *pitzactic*, Mong. *ütschü-ken*, Turk. *kütschük*, Mandsh. *adsi*, Lapp. *utse*.—104. Small, s. *ari*, *iri*, *ali*, Finn. *arka*, "short," Mong. *narin*, Lapp. *njuor*.—105. To be full, *te-mi*, Magy. *töl*, "to fill," *tele*, "full," Syr. *tvr* and Turk. *tolu*, "full," Mong. *del*, "full moon," Finn. *täy-te*, "to fill."—106. Strong, ss. *igue*, es. *shigon*, Finn. *jirka*, and Turk. *iri*, "firm." A tendency to drop the *r* is noticeable in the Sonora languages; the Aztec, too, has no longer an *r*. The Chinese have similarly

rid themselves of *r*.—107. Whole, all, *çem*, hence *çem-anahua-tl*, "the whole of Anahuac," that is, the whole kingdom, the whole world, Mong. *cham*, "to unite," Turk. *cham*, "all," identical with ξύν, Lat. *cum*, Celt. *con*.—108. All, *bu-ssi*, *mu-tschi*, from *mui*, "much" (No. 109), and *ki*, Finn. *kaiki*, Turk. *kai*, Chin. *kiai*, *kai*, "all."—109. Much, *mui*, *miez*, Mong. *baki*, and Mandsh. *mangga*, "strong," originally related to Sanscr. *mahat*, μέγας, Lat. *magnus*, Old High Germ. *manag*, "many."—110. One (the numeral), *çe*, *sse*, *ssenu*, Nepaul. *schi*, Loochoo *idsi*, Malay *sa*.—111. Good, *ga*, *qualli* (*gwalli*), see No. 31.—112. Sweet, s. *hatschca*, *caca*, from *cua*, "to eat," No. 76.—113. Bad, es. *teschzek*, ss. *tscheti*, Finn. *suikia*, "weak, thin," *soika*, "blind, miserable" (comp. Mong. *schinggu*, "low").—114. Oblique, *tschico*, Mong. *chadsha*, Turk. *kuja*.—115. To be, to find oneself in a place, s. *gati-ki*, a. *cat-qui*, *ca*, Mong. and Mandsh. *chada*, "to put something in a place," Turk. *chadak*, "peg."—116. Far, s. *metschea*, Finn. *mene*, "to go," or connected with μῆκος.—117. Way, street, s. *bogwi*, *boi*, *boo*, *pobe*, a. es. Mong. *bai*, "to stand," Mandsh. *ba*, "place," Finn. *päikka*, "place." *Bogwi* is probably compounded of *ba*, "place," and a verbal root, *gwi*, *qui*, see No. 118.—118. To enter, s. *ba-qui*, *ba-que*, and cohabitation, *boi-qui*, from *ba*, "place" (No. 117), and *qui*, which expresses a movement.—119. To fall, *gaguse*, *gwetschi-ki*, *hwetsch*, *hwetzi*, *wausdsi*, *asi*, Mandsh. *wasi*, "to descend," closely connected with the Finn. *wät*, *heit*, "to throw" (No. 166), *wuot*, "bed," Lapp. *jäwat*, "to scatter."—120. To reach, attain, win, *a-tsi*, from root *ti*, which appears in Finn. *tyty* (reduplicated), "to be held fast," and in Mong. *tutu*, "capable of being seized."—121. To find, to meet with, s. *tugwe*, *tebua*, *teuh*, Finn. *tawa*, "to catch, reach, find."—122. To hold, *tepi*, *tepu*, the same root with the last.—123. To give, *maca*, *mache*, *mashhe* (hence "to receive," *maiti-qui*, *muni-te*, *a-hwe*), Mong. *bacha* and Lapp. *fagge*, "to take, to receive." The ideas of giving and taking are mixed up with one another in the Ugro-Mongolian languages; the Mongolian *bari* has both meanings.—124. To pour, to discharge, *tema*, from *tegma*, Finn. *tykö*, Turk. *tök*, Tibet. *dug*, "to pour."—125. To rend in pieces, s. *tapani*, Turk. *tap*, "to hit with a weapon," Finn. *typpi*, "stem of a tree, fragment."—126. To beat, s. *tuque*, Finn. *tokko*, "to hammer," Turk. *tok*, *dög*, "to beat."—127. Circle, *tschitula*, comp. Mandsh. *hutule*, "to lead bound," Finn. *höyte*, "a cord."—128. Round, s. *cawol*, hence "bullet," *cawoli*, Lapp. *kawa*, "to crook, to curve."—129. Ball, bullet, *ura*, *ule*, *oli*, Finn. *wieri*, "to roll," *piörä*, "a roll," Mandsh. *foro*, and Malag. *forog*, "to roll," Lapp. *wer*, "ripe," Mandsh. *weren*, "whirlpool," originally connected with Old High Germ. *wirvil*.—130. To raise, s. *cucuse*, *quetza*, Finn. *käy*, "to stand up," *käyttä*, "to make to stand upright."

VI. Nature.—131. Mountain, *tepe*, Lapp. *täwa*, "hillock," Mong. *dobo*, "to project."—132. Sand, s. *saate*, a. *shhalli*, from a primitive root SA, "to strew, to sow," Lat. *sero*, from which the Finn. *sata*, and Mong. *dsata*, "to rain," and the Old High Germ. *sant*, "sand," are derived.—133. Hollow, s. *tesso*, *osto*, *asta*, Finn. *sisä*, "inward," Turk. *itsch*.—134. Hollow, hiding-place, *cusco*, comp. Lapp. and Turk. *katsch*, "to flee," Mandsh. *chatsi*.—135. Salt, s. *honaca onne*, Mong. *chomaki*, and Malag. *homok*, Turk. *kumak*, and Mandsh. *jonggan*, "sand."—136. Metal, iron, s. *gwenomi*, *vainomi*, the Persian *ayan*. There were Persian sages at the Court of Kublai Khan; see the above section.—137. Copper, tin, s. *amutzi*, either from Finn. *waski* (Turk. *jes*, Mong. *dshes*) or from Semitic *abtsa*.—138. To smelt, ss. *tepula*, *tepura*, hence *tepuraca*, "hatchet," and *teputz*, "copper," Mong. *sobi*, and Tschuw. *sâb*, "to cut," Finn. *sepä*, "a smith."—139. To inflame, sprout, spring, s. *jossiga*, "to blossom," *ssehwa*, *ssegwa*, "a flower," a. *shhotla*, "to bud," and "to catch fire," *shhotli*, "a flower," Turk. *jak*, "to kindle," Mandsh. *jacha*, "glowing coal," Lapp. *tsake*, "to burn," Turk. *jaghads*, "a tree," Aleut. *jagakch*, "a tree," Ostiak. *juch*, "twig," Hungar. *ag*, "branch," Mong. *tsetsek*, "flower."—140. Tree, *coagui*, *susiki*, *usci*, *quahui*, Finn. *kusi*, and Mong. *chosi*, "fir-tree,"—141. Tree, *aga*, and fir, cedar, *juggue*, *oko*, *otschco*, Turk. *jaghad*, *aghad*, "tree."—142. Root, *nelhwa*, from Finn. and Ugr. *el*, "to live," comp. Mong. *el* and Mandsh. *elche*, *nelche*, "peace," that is, is a fixed, settled condition.—143. Willow-tree, *hwecho*, *hweshho*, Finn. *pao*.—144. Vegetables, roots, s. and a. *qui-li*, from the same primitive root as Goth. *quijan*, Old High Germ. *quichan*, "to make alive, to quicken," and Finn. *wieka*, Malag. *vig*, Mandsh. *wej*, "lively, fresh."—145. Shaw, *shhacca*, *cushhati*, also *paca*, Mong. *chaghorai*, "dry, withered," Lat. *siccus*.—146. Sour, *shhoccoa*, originally related probably to Mong. *chaga*, "to rend, to split," Mandsh. *dshaga*, "to split." We speak in the same way of a biting, stinging taste.—147. Dry, lean, *vaki*, *saki*, Mong. *chowa*, Lapp. *köike*, Finn. *kuiwa* and *suikiä*.—148. To spring, sprout, *meja*, from root *ba*, *wuo*, No. 15.—149. To rain, s. *chukiki*, *ducue*, *quiahui*, *vije*, Turk. *jagh*, Lapp. *ok-te*. Further: *pa-jagwi*, compounded from *pa*, "water," and *jagwi* = Turk. *jagh*, Corean *pi*, rain.—150. To thunder, s. *tatzine*, a. *tlatzine*, Mong. *tschakil*, "to lighten," Lapp. *tsake*, "to burn," Ugr. *jak*, "to kindle."—151. Male (said of animals), s. *hoguila*, *hougui*, *pougu*, a. *oquitsch*, Mandsh. *chacha*, Ostiak. *cho*.—152. Egg, s. *kauquaca* (reduplicated from root *quck*, No. 142).—153. Bear, ss. *bohi*, *vohi*, Mong. *baki*, Finn. *wäki*, "strong," *bögi*, "ox," Mandsh. *bucha*, "ox," *buka*, "ram;" perhaps βοῦς is from this root—βία—rather than from Sanscr. *gaus*.—154. Bear, es. *uira*, es. *wilah*, Sanscr. *urksha*, ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus*.—155. Bear, es. *uisisi*, ss. *otzet*, es. *ochzo*, Mong. *öteke*, Uigur. *adik*, Aleut. *tangach*; on

the other side, comp. Goth. *aúhsa*, Old High Germ. *ohso*, "oxen;" there are two collateral roots, *o-t-k* and *o-ch-t(s)*.—156. Dog, s. *tschu*, *cocotschi*, *gogosci*, a. *tschitschi*, from the primitive root, Sanscr. *çvan*, κύων, Lat. *canis*, Goth. *hunds*, Ir. *cu*.—157. Serpent, *coa*, Lapp. *kawa*, "to curve, bend," Lith. *kum-pis*, "crooked," κάμπω, hence probably also κῆτος, rather than from χάω, χάσκω. —158. Bird, s. *tschulugui*, *urugui*, *ugui*, Mong. *chuli*, Lapp. *halwe*, Turk. *kalja*, "to fly."—159. To fly, s. *daai*, *daa*, Esthon. *tüp*, Finn. *säpi*.—160. Nest, s. *cosade tosa*, Finn. *kesa*, Turk. *gis*, "to save, conceal."—161. Raven, κόραξ, Aleut. *kalkagiak*, *kalkahjon*, s. *colatschi*, comp. the collateral form עורב, Lat. *corvus*, Old High Germ. *kraban*.—162. Eagle, s. *gwaugue*, *gwagué*, *bagwe*, *bwaue*, a. *quauh*, comp. Finn. *kajawa* and Mong. *chairaga*, "sea-gull."—163. Bug, *teshhca*, Finn. and Esthon. *täi*, "vermin, louse," Hungar. *tetü*.

VII. Works and Tools, Clothing and Dwellings.—164. To do, to make, s. *duni*, *tawa* (*iehwa*), primitive root *dhâ*, *te*. Hence also s. *tuca*, a. *toca*, "spider, spinner."—165. Work, s. *tahwa* (*jehwa*), a. *tequi* and *tschihwa*, Finn. *teke*, "to do," from the same primitive root.—166. To carry, *it-qui*, comp. Turk. *at*, Finn. *wät*, Turk. *jat*, "to throw, to lay."—167. To lay, s. *tutu-qui*, a. *teca*, from the same root; compare Lapp. *jäwat*, "to scatter," *jäwatak*, "cushion," Turk. *jatak*, "pillow."—168. To dress, put on, s. *tschemi*, a. *quemi*, Finn. *kapia*, "folding closely," Turk. *kap*, "to cover," Lapp. *japte*, "to conceal, cover." —169. Cloak, *tilma*, perhaps from Mong. *dul*, Finn. *tuli*, "to be warm."—170. To stitch, *soso*, Lapp. *suogge*, "to bore," Turk. *sog*.—171. To plait, to weave, a. *gwigwi-tu*, *igwi*, from a root which we meet with in the Finn. *wyö*, Turk. *ui*, "girdle," and was closely related to or identical with the Old High Germ. *wëban*. —172. Mat, *peraca*, *petla*; and "to spread out," *peré*, Finn. *perä*, "earth, soil," Mandsh. *fere*.—173. House, ss. *cari*, *cali*, es. *canuke*, a. *calli*, Mong. *ger*, "skin, hide," Turk. *kura*, "court," for *chor*, *gur*, "to encircle, surround." — 174. To dwell, s. *betschte*, *bete*, and dwelling, *betschteke*, *baqui*, *qui*, a. *hwaca* (they were thinking of its possible destruction and disfigurement), Mandsh. *buksin*, "ambush," Mong. *bükkü*, "to bow oneself, to save oneself." From primitive root BAK, "to march."—175. Field, acre, s. *bussa*, Finn. *möjsa*, "field, estate," Corean *pas*, "field," comp. Turk. *buza*, "wheat."—176. To sow, plant, put in the ground, *toca*, Finn. *tukki* and Turk. *tyka*, "to stop hard," Mong. *sigha*, "to drive stakes into the ground."—177. To sow, to strew, *ach*, *ech*, *atz*, *uss*; root, *ach*, which should be closely related to the Mong. *jak*, No. 139, and which probably lies at the basis of Turk. and Lapp. *oghul*, *juglo*, "sow;" compare Lat. *satus*.—178. To bury, s. *cobe*, *hoco*, Turk. *küm*.—179. To guard, stand and watch, *pia*, *via*, from root *bai*, No. 117.—180.

Bread, ss. *temeke, remeke, shimmita,* from Mandsh. and Turk. *sdhe,* Yakut. *se,* Tschuw. *si,* Finn. *syö,* "to eat," and a root *mek,* which is found in Turk. *et-mek,* comp. also Malay *makan,* "to eat," and Sanscr. *bhaksh,* φαγεῖν.—181. To baste, to roast, s. *chaque, gwaugukke, gaggai,* Mong. *chaga,* Corean *koki,* "cooked flesh;" comp. Lat. *coquo.* — 182. To knead, a. *tesi, teçi,* and dough, s. *tuschiki, tui, tuligi,* a. *teshh,* comp. Finn. *tako,* "to beat, smelt," Turk. *dög,* "to beat," *syk,* "to press," Finn. *saka,* "to condense;" perhaps relates to Goth. *daigs,* Old High Germ. *teik,* "dough," and Goth. *deigan,* "to knead."—183. To cut, s. *sica,* Finn. *särke.*—184. To cut small, cut in pieces, s. and a. *pajana,* Finn. *wähä,* "small," *weistä,* "to cut in pieces," Mong. *bagha,* "small."—185. Hatchet, *hwik,* Finn. *pääka,* Hungar. *fejsze.*—186. Bows (weapons), ns. *ati, atsche,* ss. *hata-ca,* es. *eth,* Finn. *heit, wät,* Turk. *at,* "to sling, to throw." Hence s. *at-la,* "javelin-strap." — 187. Arrow, s. *gwaca, vu,* a. *mi;* comp. Mandsh. *wejche* and Malag. *fog,* "tooth."—188. To wash, *paca, bacua, vacua;* also *vaccui* and *palti,* "wet," *palwa,* "to dive, to dip," *wadduide, wapakate,* "to moisten," *pahi, bahi,* "to drink," *pa,* "poison," from primitive root *pa, ba,* "water," No. 15.—189. To paint, s. *jushha, hossele, aosa, oae,* probably="to moisten," from primitive root VA, see No. 15, Mong. *usum,* "water," Finn. *wete, wiz, wesi.*

Among the 189 words enumerated we have three which certainly, and two which probably, are Malayan (43, 76, 83, and 57, 64); eight which are themselves primitive roots (7, 24, 38, 68, 95, 98, 99, 155), earlier forms of which are not to be found in the Ugro-Tartar and Mongolian languages of to-day, but which might certainly have existed as late as the 12th century in the Tschuktchian and Mandshurian dialects; one Persian word (136), which serves only to confirm our view of the origin of the Aztecs; the other 175 are found all and several in the Ugro-Mongolian languages, for the most part quite evidently. Upon this we make these observations: To the Ugr. *t* and Mong. *d* corresponds the Son. *t,* Aztec *tl;* to the Finn. *s,* Mong. *sch* or *ds,* a Son. *s* or *shh;* to the Mong. *s,* a Son. *t* or *tz;* to the Ugr. *j,* Mong. *dsh,* a Son. *j,* or *k,* or *s,* or *shh;* to the Finn. *p,* a *hw, gw,* or *p;* to the *b* a *m;* to the *w,* Mong. *b,* a *p* or *hw;* the Lapp. *ts,* Ugr. *j,* Mong. *tsch,* is in Son. *t;* the Ugr. *t* or Mong. *d* is Son. *t* and *r,* Azt. *tl; k* and *ch* remain or become *tsch.* These are the transmutations which have their analogues in the various Ugro-Finnic.-Mongolian languages. Finally, we need only review the above 189 words in an unprejudiced manner in order to find immediate confirmation for our opinion (§ 292) that these stems of words did not come from the Aztec into the Sonora languages, but from the Sonora into the Aztec; for it has been made thoroughly clear that the Sonora

languages possess the older and less adulterated form of the word.—Among the words which are found only in the Aztec language and not also in the Sonora languages, are presumably many which the Aztecs had not brought with them from Asia, but had learnt from the remnants of the Toltecs still in the land. Thus, *e.g.*, *guegue*, "old," *pec*, "mountain" (Malay *bukit*), etc.

From the work of Oppert, *Ein Verschlossenes Land, Reisen nach Korea*, Leipz. 1880, it appears that the Coreans also have the tradition of the sun's son. A daughter of the god Hoango-ho was made pregnant by a sunbeam, bore a son Tschumong, who afterwards called himself Kao, and from him the noble families of Corea trace their descent. It is noticeable that the population of Corea is a mixture from an Aryan and a Mongolian tribe. It is thus explicable how we find traces of traditions of an Iranian character, and of customs which re-appear in Eastern Asia and America.

§ 298. *The Religion of the Aztecs.*

As we might expect from a people that had sprung from a warrior tribe, the supreme god of the Aztecs is their war-god, who is called Meshhitli or Huitzilopochtli. The latter name is explained by J. G. Müller, following Torquemada and Acosta, to mean "a humming-bird on the left," from *Huitzili*, "a humming-bird," and *Opochtli*, "the left." Clavigero saw pictures of this god in the feather embroidery work, in which "sometimes" the feathers of humming-birds were among others used on the left foot! The Aztecs also had the legend that that chieftain who led their fathers southward from Aztlan had borne the name Huitzitoc[1] or Huitziton,[2] and that he was impelled by the call of a bird, "tihwi,"=let us go, to lead his people southwards. This affords ground enough for J. G. Müller to assume that the Aztecs worshipped as god a humming-bird by whose cry they had originally been led forth, and that as culture advanced they raised the bird-god into an anthropomorphic deity, on whose left foot the humming-bird was represented as sitting. The only drawback is that in Californian-

[1] Prichard, iv. 385. [2] Clavigero, *Gesch. Mex.* i. 172 ff.

Aztlan there happens to be no humming-birds. We know that *potsch-tli* means "the son" or "the youth," § 297, *Obs.* No. 44; *huitz* means in Aztec "thorn, sting;" and if the name in question were an appellative designation, then "son of a thorn" would suit better than "a humming-bird on the left" as a description of the war-god, who in his pictures is represented as holding a spear in his right hand and a bundle of arrows in his left, human bones on his garments, and bearing the figure of a torn and lacerated man, and has the titles of *tetzalcotl*, "the terrible," *tetzahuitl*, "the frightful." But it may be asked whether Huitzilopochtli was an appellative designation, or whether Huitzi-li was not rather a proper name. That legend which makes the Aztecs conquer the country under a human hero, Huitzitoc, is in this form recent, having been first heard in the 18th century by Clavigero for the mouth of the Aztecs. According to its original form and meaning, the god Huitzi precedes in advance of the Aztecs as the breaker of their path, and their actual leader was Huitzi's servant (*Huitzi-toc, toc = teasch, tacha*, § 297, *Obs.* No. 51).[1] But now, in fact, the Aztecs had quite a different legend[2] of Huitzilopochtli, which in respect of its contents is found to be of a thoroughly Old Mongolian type. In Coatepec, "the serpent mountain," there lived a pious woman Coatlicue or Coatlantana; once when she went into the temple a feather ball fell from heaven; she stuck it in her bosom, intending with its feathers to adorn the altar; placed there she found it no more, but found that she was pregnant. Her sons, the Centzonhwiznahis, wished now to kill her, but a voice proceeded out of her womb: "Fear not, O mother, I shall save thee to thy honour and mine own

[1] The Aztecs actually report (Müller, p. 594) that on the journey from Aztlan to Mexico four priests had borne in front the image of the god on a *teoicpalli*, "a carrying chair," in regard to which we would not omit remarking that it was a custom common to the Mongols and Japanese to carry the images of their gods on such carrying chairs in front of their armies.

[2] Müller, p. 601.

renown." When now those sons prepared to kill her, Huitzilopochtli sprang armed from her body, slew them, and plundered their dwellings. — We have here again that Old Mongolian Alankava legend (§ 266), the echo of which we have already found among the Mandshurians (§ 286). But here the very names correspond. In Coat-licue, Coat-lantana, *coa* is an old form of the Sonora *goni, cunna*, of the Aztec *çihua*, from Mong. *cke, checke* (§ 297, *Obs.* No. 42), and *licue* or *lantana*, a phonetic transmutation of *lankava*, so that Goa-t-licue, "the woman *Licue*," precisely corresponds to that A-lankava = Ama-lankava, "mother Lankava." But among the Aztecs she also bears the name Teteionan, and this corresponds again to the signification of *tinian-ac* in the Mandshurian legend. And now, in conclusion, we need not doubt that also the most eminent son of Alankava will correspond to the son of Licue; in the one he is called Buzend-shir (§ 266), in the other Hwitzi or Huitzi; but to the Mongolian *b* corresponds the Aztec *hw* (§ 297, *Obs.* No. 47, Mong. *etsi*, Sonora *jatsu*); the interchange of the flat vowel with the sharp and light accounts for the transposition of Lankava into Licue; only the ending is different, which will surprise nobody. We yet observe that the Finn. stem *lüka*, Mandsh. *lukku*, has the meaning of rich, great; so then Huitzi-li-pochtli means Buzend, the great son (of Licue). It was the sun's son of the Old Mongolian legend whom the Aztecs worshipped as their war-god and ancestral deity. It is nothing to be wondered at that we should find the same tradition in a tribe of the Old Japanese immigrants of B.C. 100, the Mandshusicus in Paraguay, and, among the Aztecs, the Mongol immigrants of A.D. 1281.[1] That legend was already in Asia the common

[1] On the other hand, Citlalicue, the goddess of the Mayas in Chiapa, has only a chance and apparent similarity in name with Coatlicue. The sun-god is called Citlali by the Mayas (see § 300), *cue* in all the Mongolian race of languages is the same primitive root for "wife," which in the name Coatlicue forms the beginning, but in Citlali-cue forms the end of the name. This latter name, therefore, means the sun-god's wife, the moon-goddess, and has nothing to do with Licue or Lancava.

possession of the most diverse races. We found it in Japan as a primitive myth of the pre-Buddhistic Old Japanese religion (§ 269), and heard it told in 1246 to Plankarpin by the Mongols.—Another name of Huitzi was Meshhihtli or Mexitl. According to the Aztec tradition, the capital Tenochtitlan obtained the name of Mexico from the agave or mango plant (*me-tl*) growing in the district, and that from the city again the god obtained this name. It is possible, however, that here too, as in § 297 (see note on Tenochtitlan), the city was rather named after the god; but whence this name of the god came I cannot determine.[1] — By means of the festivals also, celebrated in his honour, Huitzi is characterized as the son of the sun. In the rainy season, in the middle of May, figures of the god of an edible plant and honey were made and eaten, frankincense was offered, dances were performed, prayer songs for rain and fruitfulness were recited, and human sacrifices were presented. At the end of the rainy season, in the middle of August, in the twelfth month of the Aztecs, an image of the god was wound round with a blue band, indicating the blue heavens, and all houses were ornamented with flowers. At the winter solstice an image of the god made of seeds and the blood of the sacrificed children was pierced by a priest with an arrow, the heart was cut out and eaten by the Emperor, the rest was divided among the people. The winter solstice is the death and new birth of the sun, therefore also of the sun's son.—Now Huitzi himself, as well as his mother Coatlicue, was represented as having the attributes of the serpent, not for the reason, far from it,[2] that the serpent by reason of its casting its skin is a symbol of the rejuvenating power of nature, still less because the antique word *coa*, "woman, wife," had been erroneously taken for "serpent," but because already in the

[1] Meshhi would literally correspond to Boskun (Buzend's brother, § 266). Since the Aztec legend knows only of one son of Licue, the names of the Old Mongolian triplet-brothers of Buzend were transferred to this one.

[2] Müller, p. 611.

primitive Mongolian tradition the serpent played an important part. Among the Chinese the dragon is the ancient symbol of the empire (§ 268); so also among the Toltecs the symbol of the dragon was confounded with the form of Votan (§ 296), and especially the Aztecs distinguish themselves by this, that they, like genuine Ophites, have made the temptress of the human race into a god, and confounded her with God. We have seen this already in the disfigurement which the Toltec tradition of Votan has suffered at their hands when it is rendered into the legend of Quetzalcoatl, the legend of the dragon (§ 296).[1] We meet with it too in the legendary figure which they name Tezcatlipoca, where God and the devil are confounded. The name Tezcatlipoca was not an Aztec word.[2] They themselves affirmed that they had learnt to know and had adopted this god from a foreign race of Tlaitlotlacs dwelling in the country who inhabited Tescuco and Chalco, and this, too, with a misconception of the serpent attributes such as already referred to at the end of § 296. Since it is in accordance with the belief of all the Mongol peoples that every district and every land has its own guardian spirit, and since the Aztecs particularly worshipped alongside of their ancestral deities such local guardian spirits,[3] it is highly probable that they adopted among their own gods the god whom they came to know as already resident in that region as the local guardian spirit of the land. The Aztecs made Tezcatlipoca a brother of their own Huitzi, but did not expressly entitle him a son of Licue, and they devoted to the two the festival of the winter solstice. Of the former, how-

[1] Huitzi, too, is found frequently represented as encircled by a serpent with a serpent staff in his hand; the walls of his temple were adorned with pictures of the serpent.

[2] As an Aztec word, Tezcatlipoca should mean "smoking mirror," which is the designation of the sun. The Aztecs may have, in adopting Toltec words, modified them according to taste.

[3] Tepejollotli, guardian spirits who dwelt in particular mountains, fairies about particular lakes, as *e.g.* the Malitsin; penates (*tepitoton*) which they kept in the house hung up in cords, guardian deities for particular periods of life, etc.

ever, they tell[1] that he dwells in heaven, is the invisible ruler of the whole world; it was he who foretold to men the great flood. This was the old Toltec form of the story, in which he corresponds to the invisible *tao* of the Chinese! The Aztecs have also made him the god of death and of the lower world, of barrenness and of all evil. This invisible god of the Toltecs was to them a dismal, feared, and hated god, and was only served for terror, and therefore they put him just in the place which among the Mongolian peoples was usually given to evil spirits (Aztec *tzitzimete*). They designated him *jactzin*, "the fiend, the enemy." He was, indeed, supposed to dwell in heaven, but only to shoot from thence the arrows of the pestilence, barrenness, and famine as disasters upon the race of mankind. This, his double nature, is set forth in his figure, for he was represented sometimes as a fair youth, sometimes with the countenance of a bear. His chief festival, *toschcoalth*, "barrenness," was celebrated on the day of his death, the 19th May; as god of barrenness, he died at the beginning of the rainy season. The priest took dust in his hand and swallowed it; the people fasted; on a carrying chair of dried maize plant the image of the god was carried about; a troop of youths and maidens, *tepotschtliztli*, crowned with dry stalks of maize, made a procession. The kneeling people lashed themselves with cords, and besought the help of night and storms against the god. The fairest of the prisoners of war had been selected a year before, received even divine honours, and twenty days before the festival he was given four beautiful maidens as his companions; on the festival day he was offered as a victim to the god; young men and young women were married, and were exposed to the scoffs of the youth. A second festival was in October, at the end of the rainy season, when the god returning was met with the scattering of maize flour, and men were burnt in his honour. His third festival was celebrated at the winter solstice in common with that of Huitzi, as the conqueror

[1] Müller, p. 613.

of Tezcatlipoca.—Thus, then, the Aztecs worshipped their blood-stained savage ancestral deity Huitzi as the highest god, and changed the invisible creator of the world of the Toltecs into the devil. And from this horrifying perversion, as well as from the Votan legend, we may obtain for ourselves this addition to our scientific possessions, the knowledge that the Toltecs had known in North America the invisible creator of the world, who was afterwards forgotten by them in Peru during the period of the Inca empire. There, then, again we have depravation, development downwards!—The number of human victims sacrificed by the Aztecs was frightful. According to Diaz,[1] they amounted in one year to at least 2500, but sometimes in a single year to as many as 6000. At the consecration of the great temple of Huitzi, in A.D. 1486, there were during one year offered of prisoners spared for the purpose, according to Torquemada, 72,344; according to Ixtilxocuitl, 80,400. They had separate apartments in the temples for the preservation of the skulls of the victims sacrificed; in one such *quashhitschalco*, Cortez found 136,000 skulls.—They had, as real unsophisticated polytheists, a multitude of various sorts of gods. It is said that they had as many as thirteen principal deities. Certain it is that they adopted gods into their religion from all the tribes with which they came into contact. Although their Huitzi, as son of the sun, was their chief god, they had still besides a sun-god, Tonatiuh (*tona*, "heat," and *tiuh*, "god"), subordinate to him, whom they, as the non-Aztec word *tiuh* already shows, had taken over from a Toltec or such-like tribe. Further, they had a moon-god Meẓtli, a god of the earth Tlatecutli or Tewacajohua, the pre-Chichimec water-god Tlaloc or Taloc, a Chichimec fish-god Coshhcoshh or Çipactli, a fire-god Shhiuhteuctli or Ishhcoazauqui (comp. § 297, *Obs.* No. 139), a salt-goddess Hwishhto-çihuatl, to whom women were sacrificed, a god of the Agave wine Tototschtli. Further, they had guardian deities of boys and girls, Joalteuctli and Joaltiçitl; of

[1] Diaz, iv. 259

men and women, Ometeuctli and Omeçihuatli; of age, Jlamateuctli; of merchants, Chacateuctli; of fishers, Opotschtli and Amimitl; of goldsmiths, Shhippe; of marriage, Tlaζolteotl and Tlaζolteuçihua; and a strange, naked figure, Ishhcuina, for whom one is tempted to suggest a Phœnician origin, אשה and *cunna*, a hybrid of tautological construction; of lust, Tlemeζquiquilli; of concord, Cundinamarca.

Obs. 1.—Tezcatlipoca is also judge of the dead who receives the souls of fallen warriors into heaven, while other souls pass into the lower world. In *Ausland* of 1831, p. 1027, the following Aztec prayer to Tezcatlipoca at the outbreak of a war is reported: O Lord, most friendly and most helpful to men, invisible and impalpable protector, by whose wisdom we are led. . . . Lord of battles! A war draws on, the god of war opens his mouth; he is hungry; he will drink the blood of those who fall. The sun and the god of the earth, Tlatecutli, will rejoice, and the gods of heaven and the lower world will refresh themselves with meat and drink, and prepare themselves a meal from the flesh and blood of mortals who fall in the fight. They glance upon us who shall conquer and who shall die. . . . The noble fathers and mothers whose children are to die know it not; the mothers know it not who nourished them when they were little, who suckled them with their milk. Grant, O Lord, that the fallen be graciously received of the sun and the earth, the father and mother of all, in whose heart love (of eating human flesh) dwells. Thou didst not deceive them when thou required that they should die in battle. For it is true and certain that thou sentest them to the earth, in order that they should feed sun and moon with their flesh and blood. Oh most friendly to men, we flee to thee, that those whom thou causest to fall in this battle may be received with love and honour among the heroes who in former times had fallen. There shall they enjoy unheard-of pleasures, celebrate in constant songs the praises of our Lord the sun, breathe the sweet perfume of the flowers, intoxicate themselves with delights, number not the days and nights, the years and the periods, for their power and happiness are without end, and the flowers, whose perfume they breathe, never fade.

Obs. 2.—The dead were some of them burnt, some of them buried. The former custom might, indeed, have been introduced through the Indian Buddhists. But since the Mongols of Asia when they became Buddhists did not adopt this custom, while urns with ashes are found in pre-Aztec, that is, in Toltec graves as far down as the Mississippi (§ 283 and 293), it is more

probable that that custom was borrowed by the Aztecs from the Toltecs.

§ 299. *The Buddhism of the Aztecs.*

The Aztecs were not Buddhists; their religion is purely Mongolian, and the name *Fo* is not once met with in it. But they had been Buddhists, and all of the Nahuatlacs, especially the Colhuacs, had been Buddhists. The Aztecs themselves have reported that the Colhuacs in Tescuco had no human sacrifices, that they themselves first introduced the practice, and made a beginning of it by the sacrifice of the daughter of a Colhuac king craftily decoyed among them.[1] Thus, then, the Aztecs were that Nahuatlac tribe which first fell away again from the Buddhism that had been grafted on from a foreign source,[2] and under their supremacy the old national religion was again introduced among the other tribes.[3] But we have remnants of two different kinds from their Buddhistic periods. FIRSTLY, we have the specifically Buddhist legends, or rather system, of the ages or the periods of the world[4] which have been preserved by Ixtilocuitl, from which; however, Rios and Clavigero have drawn different conclusions from A. von Humboldt. According to the latter, the ages of the earth, fire, air, and water succeed one another; according to the former, the succession is that of water, earth, air, and fire. But in precisely the same way as the Indian and Tibetan Buddhists, the Aztec legend represents the first age as overthrown by means of an earthquake, the second by means of fire, the third by means of a storm, the last by means of water.[5] The old traditions of giants and the flood are in those legends

[1] Müller, p. 597 f.

[2] It must have been about the same time that it happened that the Aztecs won political independence, that is, about A.D. 1350 or shortly before.

[3] To this old religion belonged the custom of human sacrifice. Marco Polo found it practised among the civilised tribes of Asia even in China and Japan. Prescott, *Mexico*, p. 643.

[4] Müller, p. 509 ff.

[5] Waitz, *Anthropologie*, i. 291.

interwoven in duplicate repetitions. The pair who saved themselves in the flood are called sometimes Coshhcoshh and Shhochiquetzal, sometimes Nata and Nena (comp. § 300). Ethnography too lays hold upon those legends, for an attempt has been made to explain as legendary the genealogy of the Mexican races (see *Obs.*).—SECONDLY, we have the ordinances of the ritual and the priesthood. Their temples (*teocalli*), truncated pyramids with horizontal terraces, stairs at the four corners leading to the chapels placed at the top which contained the image of the god, remind us in their ground-plan of the structure of the Polynesian pyramids (§ 280), but in their ornaments and hanging bells rather of the pagodas of Further India. The priests, of whom there were in the capital 5000, in the whole country, according to Clavigero, four millions, were organized as they are among the Buddhists in a complicated series of ranks.[1] They were divided into assemblies or classes, each of which had its chief. Celibacy was no longer enforced, they had rejected it along with Buddhism, and therewith not only the high estimation of the unmarried state but also of chastity; for polygamy was prevalent, and the celebrated "law against adultery" which punished with stoning the entrance into another's harem, had no deep moral significance. Unrestricted intercourse of the sexes outside of marriage was generally allowed, and such licence had even its own special guardian deity. But the outward shell of Buddhism still remained. They practised the Buddhist custom of consecrating their children with water and the custom of confession. The black clothing of the priests with yellow and red ornaments was precisely that of the Buddhists.[2] The bells, too, are of Buddhist origin, which are found on the noses, lips, and ears of figures of Aztec workmanship. Golden bells hang from the old Ssiba trees on the

[1] At the head stood two chosen high priests, the *teoteuctli*, "divine Lord," and the *huei-teoquishhque*, "great servant of God;" the highest sacrificing priest of Huitzi of hereditary rank is called *topitzlin*, the chief superintendent over all the priests *meshhico-teo-huatzin*.

[2] Al. v. Humboldt, *Vues des Cordill.* i. 197.

tumuli at Caramari, just as they hang on the pagodas of Further India, and the elephant-like masks of the Aztec priests in the Aztec hieroglyphics correspond exactly to the tapir-like mythical animal Mé of the Chinese Buddhists.[1] Finally, the Aztecs had the cloisters for orders of monks and nuns (*tlamacaẓqui*), with which were connected, exactly as in the case of the Buddhists, seminaries for the education and instruction of youth, in which boys and girls remained from their seventh year until their marriage. The Aztec religion had only diverged in this particular, that the vows of monks and nuns were not life-long, but their renunciation on the part of those who wished to marry was freely permitted.—On the Buddhist handle-cross among the Aztecs, see § 303, *Obs.*

Obs.—Genealogical traditions of the Aztec Buddhists (Müller, p. 517): After the destruction of the first world there was darkness for twenty-five years. Then Citala-Tonal, the sun-god of the Mayas, or Ometeuctli, Old Japan name of a deity (see § 300), with his wife the moon-goddess Citali-cue or Omecihuatl begot a stone, which fell to the earth, broke in fragments, and became 16,000 heroes. These commissioned one of their number, Shholotl, to fetch from the lower world the bones of a dead man; the bone burst; from the fragments came a boy and maiden, Chiltacmischhcuatl and Ilancuaitl; these produced six sons, Shhelwa, Tenuch, the ancestor of the Aztecs, Umecatl, ancestor of the half-fabulous Olmecs, Shhikalacautl, ancestor of the Shhikalacautlacs, Mishhtecatl, ancestor of the Mishhtecs, and Otomitl, ancestor of the Otomies. Old and new, foreign and native, Buddhistic and Mongolian elements are confusedly mixed up together.

§ 300. *Traces of Pre-Aztec Deities in Central America.*

Only after we have thoroughly acquainted ourselves with the special characteristics of the Aztec religion is it possible to distinguish those elements in it that have been imported from other sources, whether from the Toltecs or from the influence of the Old Japanese immigrants into Central America.

[1] Rauch, *Einheit d. Mensch.* p. 323 f.

Among those pre-Aztec divinities the first place belongs to the divine pair Ometeuctli and Omeçihuatl, who in the legend in which Buddhist elements are mixed up (§ 299, *Obs.*) are identified with the divine pair of the Mayas, Citlalitonal and Citlalicue; which identification, however, is of no critical importance. We know that among the Aztecs the Ome-pair did not figure as the sun and the moon, but as the guardian of men and women. This, however, is immaterial to the question as to what this divine pair, in the country to which they belonged, may have been originally conceived to be. But we should also expect to meet again with this divine pair in another tribe, to which it evidently was native, for certainly the name Ome cannot be explained from any Aztec word.[1] This tribe is one which inhabits Nicaragua, in which a divine pair, *Homey-atēlite* and *Homey-atecçiguat*, is named alongside a son *Siagat;* and thus we are here reminded of the tribe of the Mandshusicas in Paraguay (§ 286) who worship *Omequaturigni* (or *Urago soriso*), *Ura-sana*, and *Ura-po*. There were, as we there saw, undoubtedly three purely Japanese heavenly gods, supposed to rule consecutively, each following the other, and begotten the one of the other emanationistically, and so not to be regarded as a divine pair, and so with nothing in common except the syllable *ome* = *homey;* but *Ome*, or in the Nicaraguan language, *Homey*, is evidently enough equivalent to the Ugro-Finnic-Mongolian, or rather generally Japhetic primitive root (Mong. *amu, ama*, § 297, *Obs.* No. 49) for "father" and "mother," or generally for any of the older relatives, *e.g.* uncle. But *Qua* is a contracted *kame*, the Japanese appellation of god. *Atelite* might be derived from the Ugro-Mongolian word *tuil*, "fire, heat" (No. 10), which would be

[1] No one will consider the meaning "Two-men," "Two-women," for Aztec *ome*, "two," as satisfactory (Buchmann, art. "Ortsnamen," p. 773). This careful investigator has allowed himself to be carried away by the desire to trace everything to an Aztec source. But though the places Bonames and Bilbil near Frankfort a. M. may be rightly derived from *bona messis* and *villa bella*, it does not follow that Frankfurt must be derived from *frangere* and *fortis*.

suitable as a designation of the sun-god; but the parallel *atcçiguat* leads to the supposition that *ate* is an auxiliary word (perhaps *ata, atta,* Nrs. 47, 48, as synonym of *homey, amu*), where then *lite* would indicate the masculine, *çiguat* the feminine gender (comp. Mandsh. *chcche,* No. 42). We know then nothing more than that there was a god and a goddess, a father and a mother. But *Homey-Atelite* had, just like the Mandshurian *Omequa,* a son *Siagat,* and the Nicaraguans at a religious examination made the following statements about him, and made this record: *Question:* Qui a créé les hommes, les femmes et toutes les austres choses? *Réponse:* Ils ont été créés par Famagostad et Zipaltonal, et par un jeune homme nommé Ecalchotl guegue et le petit Ciagat. But here we see the person of Siagat already amalgamated with Buddha Çiwa and a god Ecalshhotl,[1] which from its name, ending in *tl,* we may conclude to have been imported by Buddhist missionaries of Aztec blood from Mexico. We first come upon the religion of this people at a time when it had already become amalgamated with Buddhist elements. The only conclusion we can draw is that Siagat, if in the Buddhist religion he belonged to the order of creating deities, must also in the national religion have had to do with creation, so that he emanated from the Ome-pair, and then again the world from him. What then is to be made of the fourth, "the young man, Ecalshho, the old"—for *guegue* means "old" in Aztec? Perhaps these four gods were suggested by,[1] and bear some relation to, the four Buddhist periods or evolutions of the world. To the second, "*Çiva,* the glowing," undoubtedly belongs the empire of fire; but *eca* means in Aztec "air, wind," and the wind might well be designated "a young old man;"[2] then Fo-mahadeo will correspond to the god of water,

[1] The French *ch* has been transliterated by *shh,* and not, as the Spaniards have done, by *tsh.* So, too, the *c* in *Ciagat* is rendered by *s.*—Ecalshhotl, too, which according to Aztec etymology is identified with the Nicaraguan rain-god Quia-teol, "Rain-god," will have been imported from Mexico along with Buddhism.

[2] In Nicaragua a god of the air is named Tschiquinan. It was hence

and the son Siagat[1] to the earth.—But besides in Nicaragua we meet with a Thomatojo, by Oviedo translated "great god" (comp. on *mathojo*, § 297, *Obs.* No. 109, *baki, mangga, mieds*), with his son Theotbilahe (comp. Tepeguan *puguli*, "son," No. 44). It is possible that these were identical with Homeyatelite and Siagat.—When in Nicaragua the god of the lower world is called Miquetan-teo, and in Yucatan and Chiapa the lower world itself is called *mitual*, we are reminded that the root *mic, malc, mu*, is Malayan, already met with by all the later immigrants (§ 297, *Obs.* No. 99).—We again meet with the Votan of the Toltecs (§ 296) in the Tipotan, the god Potan of the Indians of Martiaca, and also with the tradition that the first human pair were called Nembrita and Nenguitamali.[2] In the Buddhist-Aztec legend given in § 299, man's first parents were Nata and Nena. According to Oviedo,[3] in Nicaragua guardian deities of cultivated plant were worshipped, *e.g.* a Cacao-god, Caco-guat. It might therefore be concluded that *guat, gwat*, was an appellative of god, which would then have a singular resemblance to the Sanscr. *khut*, Asam. *khoda*, Goth. *guths*, Old High Germ. *cot*; but the meaning of that appellative may very well have been that of making or that of protecting, as in the case of the Sanscr. *ghut*. It would indeed be quite possible to suppose that *gwat* was a transmutation of the Old Malayan appellation of god, *waka*, which was also transferred to the Old Peruvian *gwat*, coming from *wak-ti, gwakti*.[4]—A female deity of the chase, Mishhcoatl, was adopted by the Aztecs for the Otomies.[5] She had also been worshipped by the Tlascalans.[6] Her name,

possible that only the name Ecalshhotl was imported by the Aztecs, and was given to an old Nicaraguan deity, namely, to Tschiquinan.

[1] As son he is called *le petit*, "the young."

[2] Buschmann explains (*frangendo, fortiter*, see note 1) this name from the Aztec *nemi*, "to live," and *tamalli*, "maize," "a woman who lives upon maize."

[3] Oviedo, ix. 200 ff.

[4] Comp., with special reference to the Malay gods of maize and potatoes, *zarap cono-pa* and *papac cono-pa*, § 287 E.

[5] Müller, pp. 484 and 495. [6] *Ibid.* p. 529 f.

which may be explained from the Aztec *mishh-tli*, "a cloud," and *coatl*, "a serpent," may be the Aztec translation of the name of a Toltec god of similar signification; for although the Otomies were indeed scarcely a Toltec tribe, yet the Tlascalans were undoubtedly largely intermixed with Toltecs, as is shown in § 297. But now in Nicaragua we meet with a similarly sounding name of a god Mixcoa, which indeed belongs as it seems to a male deity, not of the chase, but of trade. We read in the examination above referred to: *Qu.* Pourquoi sacrifiez-vous en vous incisant la langue? *Rép.* Nous le faisons toujours quand nous allons vendre, acheter ou conclure quelque marché, parceque nous croyons que cela nous procure une heureuse réussite. Le dieu que nous invoquons à cet effet, se nomme Mixcoa. *Qu.* Où est votre dieu Mixcou? *Rép.* Ce sont des pierres figurées que nous invoquons en son honneur. But that one and the same deity of wealth and well-being should pass in one tribe, a civilised one, as patron god of trade, and in another, a nomadic tribe, living by the chase, as patron goddess of hunting, is quite conceivable. But now, as the *pierre figurée* show, Mixcoa must have been in Nicaragua before the appearance of the Old Japanese immigrants, on whose stone-worship comp. § 287 *C.* The name itself is nothing else than a contracted Pacha-camac (§ 287); and as it is changed into Botschi-ka among the Muyscas (§ 289), so it might in Nicaragua be rendered Mitsch-ca, Mits-co. In Old Peru there were figures of sea-monsters with connection with Pachacamac. His temple in Pachacamac valley was adorned with such.[1] Further, also, in Old Peru there was worshipped a god of wealth, Urcaguay, represented as a serpent,[2] whose name reminds us strikingly of the Urago of the Mandshusicas (§ 286), which may therefore have been only an appellative of Pachacamac, as Urago was an appellative of the "Father-god" Omequa. Thus, then, the Mixcoa of the Nicaraguans is certainly to be identified with their Homey-atelite (the Omequa of the Mandshusicas), conse-

[1] Müller, p. 366. [2] *Ibid.* p. 366.

quently also with the Urago of the Mandshusicas, the serpent-shaped god of wealth among the Old Peruvians, Uruguay. In fact, serpent sculptures are found in abundance in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Yucatan, and the Indians in those regions also worshipped living serpents.[1] This worship of a serpent-shaped god of wealth, Mixcoa, spread from Central America to several Toltec tribes, belonging therefore to the period of the Chinese immigration in B.C. 600, or at least to tribes in which their were Toltec elements, such as the Tlascalans, where the god of wealth was already specialized into a god of the abundance of the hunting-field. At a far later period the remnants of the Corean-Chinese hordes that had entered the country in A.D. 1281 along with the Mongolian Nahuatlacs (§ 297), *i.e.* the Otomies, adopted a mode of worship in keeping with the stage of civilisation reached by them as hunting nomads, and finally, the Aztecs formed the name of that god, so that he in their language, as "the cloud-serpent," *mishh-coa-tl*, came to have a tolerably adequate designation.—For the rest we may find here further confirmation of the conviction already reached of an original knowledge of the one god overshadowed by the rubbish of polytheistic superstition. Pachacamac, the creator of the world, is reduced at last to a serpent idol that gives good fortune in the chase!—Among the Tlascalans the name of Ome-tosch-tli, as he appears under the influence of the Aztec language, was indeed retained alongside that of Mixcoa. This god was evidently closely connected with Ome-teot. Next to him they worshipped a war-god Camashhtle,[2] an unmistakeable transmutation of Camac with the usual Aztec ending. Thus on all sides the idea is confirmed that the Tlascalans were a mixed race made up of the Old Japanese and Toltec-Chinese immigrants.—That the Mayas, too, had a strong Toltec infusion has been already shown. They had for the sun-god the Chichimec or Sonora name of Tomahicli, "fire-lord, glowing lord," and for the moon-god, Tonaca-cihwa, "the

[1] Müller, p. 483. [2] *Ibid.* p. 529.

glowing woman;"[1] but besides these they had the Toltec names Dsitlala and Dsitlali-cue, at the basis of which we seem to find the Chinese *sji*, "the sun," although the two names have experienced a modification in the Aztec *çitlalli*, "star." Tlali, under the influence of Aztec philology, is derived from *ta-li; ta* is the Chinese *tao*, "god," *li* undoubtedly is the same Old Mongol root which we find in the *atelite* of the Nicaraguans, as well as in the Finnic *lüka*, "great, rich," which will thus have had the meaning of "great."[2] Ate-lite, "the great father;" Dsi-tla-li, "the great sun-god;" Dsi-tla-li-cue, "the great sun-god's wife."[3]

F.—The Ugro-Finnic Immigration into the North during the 13th Christian Century.

§ 301. *The Redskins and their Religion.*

The wild Indian tribes between Mexico and Greenland are comprehended under the name of the Redskins. In the middle of the 17th century eight so-called families were distinguished among them. Those of the Hurons and Iroquois (with the tribes of the Sioux, Nadowessi, Dahcotahs, Mengwees, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayegas, Senecas, etc.) dwelt around the great lakes; south of them, along the east coast, and westward to the Mississippi, was the great family of the Algonquins (with the tribes of the Delawares, Mohicans, Senilenapsis, Wampanogas, etc.); south of them are the families of the Chérokees (with the Creeks), Utsches, Natshez, Tuskaroras, Catanbas, and Mobilians.—Quite in the north, farther north than the Iroquois, although some stretch

[1] Müller (p. 474) explains *to-naca-çihwa* by "Lady or Mistress of our flesh!"

[2] Therefore in Chinese, *li*, "gain," we meet again with this word.

[3] Then also Licue among the Mayas, and already Lan-cava in Japan among the Japanese, had the meaning of "great lady." The Mandshurian *lüka* is identical with the Finnic *lukka;* the vowel therefore was not constant.

out far south like straggling shoots, dwell the Athabaskans (see *Obs.*). All these follow a nomadic course of life, and support themselves by hunting, which they foolishly and recklessly pursue to the utter ruin of the hunting-fields. Still traces of an earlier culture are discoverable, especially here and there a rude sort of picture-writing for epistolary advice in war, here and there the knotted-thread system, with various coloured pearls (*wampun*). The languages of these tribes, although in the last stage of decadence and decomposition, show clearly a mingling of Ugro-Finnic and Malayan words, (see *Obs.* 1), and also almost all these tribes have traditions that they came from the west over the sea, and found in America around the Mississippi a cultured race, the Allegévi (§ 283), and that they had been subdued or oppressed (see *Obs.* 2), which has been thoroughly confirmed by the ruins and monuments of the Mississippi region (§ 283). In general, the further south we go, the remnants of Malayan customs and language become more conspicuous (comp. § 280, which treats of the Delawares and Iroquois), while the Athabaskans appear to be far purer Ugro-Finns or Siberians. The immigration of this tribe was most undoubtedly made over Kamtschatka and Aleutia, partly also by way of Behring's Strait (see *Obs.* 2); and that specifically Ugro-Finnic form of their religion, without specifically Mongolian elements, leads to the conclusion that they were in all probability tribes from the east of Siberia. Like the Tartar-Siberian peoples (§ 263), these redskins also worshipped—(*a*) the invisible creator of the world as "the Great Spirit," (*b*) next to him the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and, finally, (*c*) a multitude of evil mischievous spirits, which were represented in the form of animals.

A. The invisible creator of the world appears under three different names.[1] 1. The Hurons, especially the Mengwees, call their highest god Okki or Hokkan. He sits in heaven, has the seasons, wind, and sea, under his control. By him they swore their oaths. Among the Canadians we find this

[1] For the proofs of what follows, see Müller, p. 102 ff.

Hocan bearing the name of Ata-hocan, "father Hocan," from the well-known root *ata, atta.* In Okki, Hocan, every one will easily recognise the Ugro-Finnic Ukko (§ 262), identical with Taara; to *ata* corresponds in Finnic the form *iso, isä,* so that Ata-hocan is literally and in meaning the same as Ukko iso, "father Ukko, the ancient father," of the Finns. Alongside of Ata-hocan we come upon the forms of Adnagni, *Cuduagni,* which either are mere corruptions of Atahocan, or are derived from *ata,* and a word identical with the Tungus., *ngängnjä,* "heaven," and so meaning "father of heaven," but in no case having anything to do with the word *gni,* from *agni,* "fire," a word not generally Polynesian, but introduced into Java from the Sanscrit. In *Cudu* a prefix seems to have been combined with *adu, ada.* 2. The Delaware tribes called him *Manitowa* (*Monaitowa, Manitah, wisi Manitto, Maniton*), in which we seem to see a compound of *Mani* with the Malayan appellative of God, *tuwan,* "Lord." *Mani* is a proper name, and is no other than the hero of the flood, *Manu,* who here again, just as among the Battas (§ 271 *c*), or among the Muyscas (§ 289), or the Germans (§ 250), and elsewhere, is confounded as the postdiluvian, quasi-creator with the real original creator of the world (comp. § 303). The Canadians distinguish two creators of the world, *Aduagni,* "who first made the world," and *Messu* (comp. the Iranian *Messhia !*), who "restored the world after the flood." We shall meet again with the name Manu in the flood legend of the Chippeways (§ 302). The Leni-Lenapis brought to Manitowa an offering of tobacco; the Maudans offered him animals and the spoils of war. He had various attributes: *kitschi,* "the great,"[1] *wolsit,* "the heavenly," *wäosemsjogan,* "the universal father," *wazehaud,* "the creative," *taronhi conagon,* "he who embraces heaven," *hurahuannentacton,* "he who binds the sun," etc. But besides this name, he also bears among the Delawares the Ugro-Finnic one Atahocan, *Ato-han.* The Moschkas called him Esteki-isa, where *isa* is evidently the Ugro-Finnic *iso,* "father," but *estcki,*

[1] Comp. the Sonora *huetscha,* "great," § 297, *Obs.* No. 101.

some sort of adjectival predicate. 3. The Dahcotahs and Sioux and Stone Indians called him by the Malayan name of Wakon (see on this § 281, *Obs.*). Here and there, however, Wakon appears alongside of Manitowa. Among the Mengwes *kitschi Manita* shows himself in the clouds, sitting on the bird Wakon. This bird produces lightning by the twinkling of his eyes, thunder by the flapping of his wings.[1] Besides these, among the Iroquois tribes, we meet with the following designations: Nigoh, Nijoh, Neo, Iawo-neo, Nowai-neo, Hawai-neo, Lanwe-neo, Hauwe-negu, Howe-nea, Hawonio, whence we conclude that *nijo, noo,* is an appellative for god which is derived from the Ugro-Finnic *nee,* "to see," as *waka, Wakon,* from the Malayan *wak,* "to see," so that *Neo* was only a translation for *Wakon.*

B. The Chippeways worshipped only Manedo, and not the sun and moon ;[2] and so among them the old primitive Monotheism had retained its present form.[3] The Mingwes, Nadowessis, Natchez, and many of the Leni-Lenapis worshipped Manitowa as the sun-god, that is, they represented him, as most Siberians did, as dwelling in the sun, and designated him *taron-hiawagon,* " holder or occupier of heaven." Other Delaware tribes prayed to a sun-god besides Manitowa as a subordinate but separate deity. The Hurons and Iroquois had a sun-god Arescowi or Agriskowe, who was at the same time their war-god. The name may be derived from the Malayan-Polynesian *arao,* " sun," but it can have scarcely any connection with Ἄρης, *Ear, Airja.* In Florida the first-born male children were sacrificed to the sun-god.[4] This worship of a special sun-god, as well as the existence of priests (*jacuas*), temples, and annual festivals[5]

[1] Chateaubriand, i. 192. [2] Müller, p. 117.

[3] A Chippeway chieftain prayed during a voyage over a lake: "Thou hast made this lake, and hast also created us as thy children; thou art able to make this water calm until we have safely and happily crossed over. Tanner, *Narrative of the Captivity,* etc., New York 1830. Quoted in Müller, p. 117 f.

[4] Account of an eye-witness in *Mejer mythol. Taschenb.* 1811, p. 28; Müller, p. 57 f.

[5] Müller, p. 57 f.

among the southern tribes, the Natchez and Apalachians, seems to have proceeded from the Allegévi empire, and to have been introduced among these tribes, naturally without the accompaniment of human sacrifices from the south-west, by means of Toltec influences such as are referred to in § 293. To this conclusion we are led by the circumstance that in Florida, as well as among the Natchez on the lower Mississippi, the tribal chiefs called themselves "sons of the sun"[1] (comp. the Incas). The Natchez, too, preserve in a kind of temple of the sun a sacred fire, which we find again as a custom in Mexico,[2] as also among the Muyscas and among the Incas, and so in Mexico as a pre-Aztec institution. We also find traces of the sacred fire as far down as Louisiana and New Mexico, and even among a particular branch of the Chippeways, called the Wambenos.[3] In the south, among the Pimos, we meet with a remnant of the Old Mongolian legend of Alankava. During a famine a beautiful woman distributes maize; while she sleeps naked, she is rendered pregnant by a rain-drop, and bears a son. The woman, like the legend itself, belongs to the race of the Old Japanese immigrants who (§ 286) brought the maize to the Malays in America. The moon is regarded by all the Redskins as a living being; the eclipse of the moon is regarded as a sickness, whose evil spirit they seek to drive away by noises. Particular tribes worship the morning and evening star; the star in the tail of the Great Bear, which represents three hunters who pursue the *okuari*, "she-bear;" the Pleiades, *tejeun-non-jakua*, "male and female dancers;" the Milky Way or spirit's path; the northern light; the rainbow, etc. The Delawares have a god of the sea, Mikabitschi (Mirabitschi, Mitschi); a thunder-god who fights with the giants;[4] a mother earth goddess—in short, a completely-developed polytheism. Among the Apalachians and Natchez the stars are regarded as the dwelling-places of

[1] Mejer, p. 74. [2] Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, etc. i. 165.
[3] Tanner, *Narrative of the Captivity*, etc. p. 135.
[4] Schoolcraft, *Algonquin Researches*, ii. 212 f.

departed souls; the sun as the dwelling-place of the dead heroes,—a Malayan, or at least not a Ugro-Finnic conception. Among the Chippeways this idea is found combined with the Ugro-Finnic notion (§ 263) that every man has two souls, of which one passes to the stars (Malayan), while the other remains in the grave, and appears on earth as a ghost under various forms (Ugro-Finnic).

C. Belief in local spirits, which dwell in trees, mountains, etc., was not less prevalent among the Malays than among the Ugro-Finnic races, and is accordingly met with among all the Redskins. Belief in ghosts and fear of ghosts, which we saw prevailing among the Ugro-Finnic-Tartar tribes (§ 263), in short, Shamanism, is on the other hand only fully developed among the northern tribes of the Redskins. Here, too, is it especially that the souls of the departed are regarded as spirits which must be propitiated. The appellative for spirits is, among the Hurons *nantena*, among the Iroquois *hondal*, among the Mandanian Mengwes *choppenih* and *maunom-heha*, among the Chippeways *maschkape* and *namschwa*, among the Dahcotahs *uanöffgi*, etc. Here, too, again we see that among every family of nations one word for the idea of God has survived from the period of primitive Monotheism; but for the worship of spirits, which marks a later period of decay, each tribe had formed for itself its own particular expression. It is, however, conceivable that after one god, as "the great Manitu," had been placed at the head of the spirits, the name Manitu, or Okki, or Neo (*neene*), or Wakon (*wah*), came to be used as an appellative term for the spirits, and in this way obtained the meaning of "spirit."—As among the Tartar-Finnic races, so also among the Redskins, guardian spirits were regarded as attaching themselves to some favourite object (*ojaron* among the Iroquois), and these were worn as amulets. With this there was combined a Malayan element; a species of animal was chosen as the dwelling of the guardian spirit, as a *totem*, which then could not be eaten by the party concerned (comp. § 272, the Tabu of the Polynesians). The werewolf

legend[1] is common to all the families of the Redskins. The art of the sorcerers and sorceresses is altogether of Ugro-Tartar origin. Among the Canadians the sorcerers are called *pillotoas, ostemois, arendiovann,* by the Ottowas *panans,* by the Dahcotahs *we chasha Wakon,* by the Blackfoots *nahlose,* by the Delawares *sajotkatta.* The sorcerer gives information about the future, decoys the game into the hunter's path, exorcises the evil spirits of disease; all this is performed in a condition of ecstasy and convulsion.[2] Also belief in demoniacal possession, called by the Maudans *otschkih-hädda,* and in witches is widespread; among the Iroquois, witches are burnt to this very day. Fear and dread constitute the foundation of the religion of the Redskins since they have become known to Europeans; bloodthirstiness and cruelty form the basis of their character. Belief in the Great Spirit is now reduced to a mere relic of an antique superstition.

Obs. 1.—The languages of those tribes afford a picture of the most utter linguistic decadence. Even the length of the words in many of those languages shows that they are formed by infinitely repeated composition of decayed and depreciated roots. From thousands of examples, we offer only a few. When among the Comanches "to cut" is *nçnochkian,* among the Chippeways "woman" is *gee-ack-au-we,* among the Wakos "small" is *téëthidekitz,* among the Kaddos "son" is *hinnincatrsch,* "finger" *duts-est-kats-ke,* in the Zumi language "lake" is *tscatolilanah,* among the Kahwillos "life" is *ninujeshmapacul,* among the Moleles "love" is *tischktaschewetaunyko,* who can possibly any longer resolve this clatter of syllables into any recognisable roots? And when every tribe, every village of perhaps a hundred inhabitants, speaks its own language, who does not see from this that such splitting up would have been impossible without an exceptionally often repeated modification of root words, which must render any recognition of the roots originally at the basis of their structure absolutely impossible? —All the more important therefore is the fact that, notwithstanding in many of those languages quite recognisable roots

[1] Müller, p. 64.

[2] Magicians converted to Christianity have declared that these conditions are by no means feigned, and ascribe them to the kingdom of darkness. Müller, p. 80 f.

are still retained, and those pretty generally Malayan roots mixed with Ugro-Finnic, which thus afford evidence for the blending of blood such as we had affirmed. From a great multitude of examples I give only the following selection from the Californian, Pueblo, and Athabaskan languages. (On the latter, compare Buschmann in the *Abh. der Berl. Akad. d. W.* of the year 1859, § 50 ff. To that group belong the Chippeways, the Beaver-Indians, Tahkalis, Kinais, Coloshes, Apaches, Inkilik, Dogrib, Navachas, Siçanis, Ugalenses, etc. The Pueblo languages are Tezuque and Zumi. The Kotschimi are a Californian tribe.)

A. MALAYAN ROOTS AND WORDS.—*Makua-kane* (Hawaian), "father," Kotschim. *ak* and *käna*. *Waha*, "month," Kotsch. *aha*. *Wewangi*, "name," Kotsch. *mimanga*. *Getih*, "blood," Kotsch. *jueta*. *Wahine*, "wife," Kotsch. *hwägin*, *wakoe*, *wuktu*, Zumi *okea* and *iai*. *Huma*, "house," Kotsch. *aji-huemen*. *Uku*, "small," Tezuque *hiquia*. *Hai* and *pau*, "to speak," Tez. *hii*, Zumi *piji*. *Pono*, "tree," Tez. *beh*. *Tshi*, "small," Zumi *tsanna*. *Apat*, "four," Zumi *awite*. *Kai*, "to eat," Tez. *koo*. *Ongo*, "to hear," Tez. *ojez*. *Etooa*, "God," Tez. *cose*. *Avae*, Tahit. "foot," Tez. *au*. *Bukit*, "mountain," Tez. *piquai*, Zumi *poke*. *Mate*, "dead," Beaver-Ind. *mite*, "to kill." *Tane*, "man, husband," Chippew. *dinne*, Beaver-Ind. *dunna*, *tine* (Chippew. etc. *tinne*, "man"). *Quita*, *kita*, "to see," Beaver-Ind. *kaneta*. *Kaki*, "foot," Athabaskan *cu*, *cas*, *cagasch*. *Sejuk* and *ma-chökek*, "cold," Chippew. *ktekchoz*, Kinai *ktechoz*. *Wanua*, *fenua*, *aina*, "earth," Ugal. *nanee*, Tahk. *nee*. *Lima*, "hand," Athab. *laa*, *lani*, *llah*. *Camay*, Tagal. "hand," Athab. *kene*, *kuna*, *kone*, *kuina*, etc. *Tangata*, Polyn. "man," Athab. *tenge*, *tenghi*, *tachköli*. *Kaiki*, *kane*, Haw. "son," Athab. *askehaja*, *chuanc*, *cheecanc*. *Tahi*, *tai*, Polyn. "sea," Athab. *tu*, *too*, *towe*, *toa*, *tchu*, "water," *atenni*, *toatna*, "to drink." *Gigi*, *niko*, *nio*, "tooth," Athab. *houk*, *goo*, *gji*.

B. UGRO-FINNIC ROOTS AND WORDS.—*Paljo*, *falu*, "much," Kotsch. *hauilei*. *Kiwe*, *kö*, "stone," Kotsch. *kota*, Tez. *kuk*. *Kuu*, "moon," Kotsch. *gamma*. *Hugy*, "star," Tez. *ahgojah*. *Jo*, *jaki*, "stream," Tez. *koh*. *Pääw*, "sun," Tez. *pah*. *Ingni*, *anongkin*, "tongue," Zumi *honinne*. *Tuba*, "post," Tez. *taiwa*, "house." *Taiwas*, "heaven, day," Tez. *tai*, "light," Zumi *taiko-hanannai*, "day," Tahk. *tsa*, "sun," Tlasc. *taöse*, "sun." *Et*, *dset*, "to eat," Zumi *ito*, *etor*, Chippew. *etse*, *shati*, Beaver-Ind. *atöun* and Tahk. *utson*, "flesh." *Kuula* and *kurk*, "neck," Tez. *kaiku*. *Silm*, "to see," Tez. *tzi*, *tschai*, "eye." *Atta*, *tate*, *iso*, "father," Athab. *atta*, *ata*, *tah*, *nta*, *staa*, "father;" Zumi *tatschu*, Tahk. *utso*, "grandmother." *Tok*, "to beat," Chippew. *telkit*, "to beat to death." *Serke*, *serel*, "to wound," Chippew. *siltir*, "to kill." *Jäyna*, "cold," Chippew. *ghäjai*, *jakkai*, *cheita*,

"winter," Athab. *jachs, jochös, jas, jath,* "snow." *Tul,* "to come," Athab. *etelj, nathall. Ne,* "to see," *nighor, nidun,* "sight," Athab. *nila, nentsönö,* Tahk. and Kinai *neetlen,* "to see." *Quili,* "herbs, grass," Athab. *klo, chlow, tchlo, qlucho, tljuch. Kulke, julka,* "foot," Athab. *katlnja, katch,* Chippew. and Ugal. *chagut, kakout,* "knee," Tahk. *kutchlai,* "to run." *Cheche,* "woman, wife," Tahk. *tschekwe,* Dogrib-Ind. *tschikwe,* other Athab. languages, *tseokeia, tzagai. Kula,* "fish," Tahk. *cloolai,* Inkit. *tchjalch, kchchach,* etc., and Kotsch. *kahal,* "water." *Jak,* "to kindle," Ugal. etc. *chong, konh, kon,* "fire." *Chuli,* "to fly," Kinai *kaselju,* "wing." *Chora,* "court" (comp. Sonora *cari,* "house"), Athab. *cooah, cunno, kanka. Suikiä,* "lean," Athab. *seiseskwe-tzik,* "hungry." *Kütschük,* "small," Athab. *chtzakke. Kenne, kan,* "child," Athab. *zkaniken, zchanik, i-schinnika, eeskane, eshkee,* etc. *Tan, tate,* "to extend," Athab. *tsone, tsee, zzenn,* "sinew, bone." *Chaga,* "to roast," Ugal. *coath,* "to cook," *Ami,* "to go," Tahk. and Kinai *ani,* "to come." *Atla,* "spear," Pinal. *aillotai. Angga* (Aztec *eca*), "air, wind," Dogrib-Ind. *cattige. Nokka, ongokto,* "nose," Athab. *chee, chi, tsee, intsös, tschess, kalkagjak,* "raven," Kinai, etc. *tschijischlja, cheensla. Ulagan, fulgian,* "red," Athab. *te-lkosse, etle-lkoss, ti-galtil* (?). *Po, ba,* "water," Kinai *bon, ben, bana,* "lake." *Jätte,* "to speak," Tahk. etc. *jaltuk, jeste.* And inasmuch as we have proved in § 297 that the Sonora branch of languages is a member of the Ugro-Finnic family of languages, we may now add to the other Ugro-Finnic words the following Sonora words that are still to be met with in the dialects of the Redskins: *nashha,* "to hear," Athab. *nisch. Corho,* "ill," Athab. *tan-chac. Tecual,* "lord, man," Athab. *tkichli, tachkoli, tschilje. Honasa,* "salt," Athab. *nutge, nute,* "salt, salt-water." *Gwaca,* "arrow," Athab. *kohuk, kcha, kahuss. Coa,* "serpent," Athab. *coo, cotso. Tete, te,* "stone," Athab. *te, tse. Noca,* "to speak," Athab. *nok-eilnjik, nukilnjak. Tohakwitja, tossa,* "white," Athab. *tolkai, talkae, tekhine, halökai. Tuni,* "lip," Athab. *taon, tu, dthu, tso, toula,* "tongue."

Obs. 2.—The Upper Creeks have a tradition of their having migrated from the west of the Mississippi into Florida (Malte-Brun, *Géogr. Univ.* v. 217). The Comanches in Texas say that they came from the west and found before them a civilised people (Buschmann, *Spuren,* etc., p. 362). The Delawares say that they came from the west with the Iroquois, and that they drove out the civilised Alligévi (Heckewelder, *Archéolog. Américic.* i. 30). The Indians of Arkansas say the same. The Shawnees on the Ohio (Assal, *die frühern Einwohner v. Amerika,* Heidelb. 1827, p. 87) say that their forefathers at an early period came over the sea, and they celebrate a feast in memory of their happy landing. The country about the Ohio was inhabited by a white race possessed of iron (comp. on this *Obs.* 3).

The Chippeways tell how their forefathers came from a land where they dwelt alongside of a cross-grained people, over a long narrow sea full of rocks and islands under ice and snow, and that they got with great labour and difficulty into the country and to the Copper River (Mackenzie, *Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique*, Septentr. 1789–1793, Paris 1802, i. 278). The Dogrib-Indians, which are related to them, say that their ancestor Chippewa lived on a narrow strip between two seas in the land from which the white man came (Franklin, *Second Expedition to the Polar Sea*). The Squint Indians on the Mackenzie River say that they came in early times from the west over an arm of the sea (*Ausland*, 1843, Aug., No. 238). The Californians came into California from the north (Augsb. *Allg. Ztg.* 1850, 14th March). The Chippeways and Dogrib-Indians thus undoubtedly came across Behring's Straits. When? See *Obs.* 3. The medicine men of both the sections of the Thlinkite Indians in Southern Alaska bear the name of Shamans, just as among the Tartar races (*Reform. Kirchenzeitung von Cleveland*, 24th Dec. 1884).

Obs. 3.—The white, iron-possessing people on the Ohio, who were met with by the Chippeways on their first landing, were without doubt a northern race. Gardar discovered Iceland in A.D. 863; Gunbjorn discovered Greenland in A.D. 877; from thence Leif the Fortunate, son of Eric the Red, started on a voyage of discovery, and reached the mouth of a river in a region where the shortest day was nine hours long, therefore about 40° northern latitude. The island now called Newfoundland was called by him "Helluland," that is, stone land; New Scotland was called Markland; Massachusetts, where he found the vine, he called Vinland (Al. v. Humboldt, *Cosmos*). After him Thorfinn Carlsefne, in A.D. 1007, arrived in Vinland with 160 men and waited there three years, but was then driven out by the hostile inhabitants. But Norman planters remained there, and in A.D. 1121 the Greenland bishop Eric Gnupson went to Vinland to confirm his countrymen there in the Christian faith. The last voyage from Greenland to Vinland was undertaken in A.D. 1347. The ruins of a building standing on round pillars at Newport on Rhode Island were regarded by Rafu, a learned expert in northern antiquities, as a Norman baptistry, and in some inscriptions on the rocks of that place it is thought that *runes* are discoverable (*Mem. de la Soc. roy. des antiquaires du Nord*, 1852, pp. 133 and 135). Dr. Lund thinks that even in Brazil at Bahia are to be found *runes* and a statue of Thor (*Ausland*, 1840, p. 652), which may perhaps rest on a misunderstanding. But that in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, Norman colonists had settled in the 12th century, is historical truth. Hence the coming of the Chippe-

ways into that region must be placed somewhere during the 13th century. The consequences of the storm occasioned by Temudjin among the peoples of Asia, might also have led those Siberian tribes to betake themselves to flight and wandering.—What became of the remnants of those "Skarlinger" of Vinland no one knows. They may have been partly extirpated, partly absorbed among the savages, and mixed up with the Ugrian tribes. In the speech of the warlike Kaddos (comp. Goth. *hathus*, Old High Germ. *hadu*, "war"), who according to their own tradition came from the north, alongside of Ugrian-Sonora roots (*aa, ugugh*, "father;" *maso*, "hand;" *quia*, "life;" *deta*, "tooth," etc.), some are found which sound very much like German roots (*tunua*, "tongue;" *hattato*, "hot;" *houchto*, "breath;" *diska*, "day;" *nubba*, "night;" *notsche, natse*, "neck;" *hunniu*, "son;" *hee-cut*, "lake;" *datsch*, "bull-dog;" *dah*, "animal;" *dehka*, "death;" *duschku*, "darkness," comp. Engl. dusk; *kiaotsch*, "child;" *dehto* and *teso*, "this;" *dehe*, "the;" *bete*, "among;" *tahho*, "roof, house").—The tradition of the Dogrib-Indians (Müller, p. 129), that a man visited them who healed the sick, raised the dead, and gave them holy books, can only be explained as a reminiscence of the attempts at evangelization by the Danish Mission, in which the Indians have confounded what was told them with what they had seen actually living among them.—The Indians on the Ohio had the tradition that a white race dwelling on the east coast had been annihilated by their forefathers (Rauch, p. 366, *Obs.* 2). It has been thought that in the Indian tribe of the Mandanes on the Mississippi we have the descendants in America of the defeated Celts (Rauch, pp. 363–371).

§ 302. *The Traditions of the Redskins.*

A. Traditions of the Flood.—1. The Canadians[1] tell of a flood which covered the whole earth. Messu alone (comp. the Meshia of the Iranian tradition, § 224) saved himself and restored the devastated earth. They honour him as a second god[2] alongside of the original creator Ata-Hocan. 2. The Chippeways say that the whole earth was buried under a

[1] The proof for this statement and those that follow will be found in Müller, p. 112.

[2] The Japhetic pagan name Messu (Manuscha, Meshia), as well as the whole cast of the traditions, forbids us deriving this from the preaching of the Danish missionaries. In that case we would have expected to meet a name similar in sound to that of Noah.

flood in which all men perished ; only one, Mano-bozho,[1] saved himself on a tree, that is, in a canoe. Manobozho commanded the water to stand still, and had sent forth several animals one after another which were swallowed up, until finally a musk-rat brought back something from the submerged earth, and out of this he created a new earth.[2] 3. The Lenilapi and Iroquois say that Manu-kitschton, "the great Manu" (comp. Gen. i. 2), created the earth out of a grain of sand, and the first human pair out of the stem of a tree. When men were afterwards destroyed by a great flood, he converted the sea animals into land animals and men.[3] We have here complete confusion between the traditions of the creation and the flood in consequence of the confusion between the creator and the hero of the flood. 4. The Knistinos on the Upper Missouri say that when the whole earth was covered with a flood, and all men had been destroyed, a woman, Kwaptaw, "virgin," grasped the foot of a flying bird (confusion of the raven with the ark!), and was by it saved on a cliff, and then, impregnated by a royal eagle, bare twins by whom the new earth was peopled. 5. The Apalaches tell how the sun stood still in its course for twenty-four hours;[4] then the water of the lake Olaimi rose till it covered the tops of the highest mountains, with the exception of Mount Olaimi, on which stood a temple of the sun. Whoever could reach this peak was saved. After twenty-four hours the sun resumed its course, and the flood withdrew. 6. Among the Chirokees a dog is

[1] The name Manu proves again that the tradition had been carried from Asia.

[2] The Indians then have made out of Manobozho a sort of tricky hobgoblin of whom they inquire as an oracle, whom they bring into connection with the werewolf legend (Müller, p. 130 ff.).

[3] Müller, pp. 107 and 110.

[4] If that which is narrated in Josh. x. 12 was an objective fact, and so observable throughout the whole earth, a reminiscence of it would be retained among various peoples. The Greek legend of Phæthon, too, seems to be such a reminiscence. Among the Apalaches this reminiscence has got mixed up anachronistically with the much older story of the flood.

said to have pointed out to his master the rising flood, and then to have saved him.

B. Creation, Fall, Cain's Murder of his Brother.—1. The Mengwes[1] say that Tschi-Maniton made on an island animals out of clay. The Manitus (comp. the Elohim) behold and rejoice in it. Tschi-Maniton, "the great Manitu," breathes upon each of the clay animals and gives them life; those that did not please him he destroyed, the rest swam over to the continent. He created one which was so great that he himself was afraid of it. He also created one in the form of man. It pleased him not; but he forgot to destroy it; and so from it there came the evil spirit Matschinito. 2. The Dahcotahs say that the first men when they had been created by the great spirit, stood like trees firmly planted in the earth; then the serpent gnawed them, and to him do they owe their freedom. (Ophitism!) 3. The Iroquois and Onondagas say that men (*oncidas*) are created from *onia*, "a stone, earth." The great spirit breathed out of his mouth breath and life into two figures which he had made from the earth: thus came into being the first man and the first helpmate. The first man, Juskeka,[2] however, slew his brother and became thereby lord of the whole world. 4. The Mandanes say that when at first the Mandanes dwelt with the Mönitarris, the great spirit appeared to them visibly in human form. 5. The Wakoschs tell how the creator of the world, Qualhutze,[3] appeared to the first mother of mankind in human form. 6. The Lenilenapi say that Nahabusch or Nanabusch[4] at the command of the great spirit created plants and animals, but rebelled against God because he had slain his brother (confusion between fall and Cain's murder!). But the great spirit was reconciled, and sent him for his

[1] Schoolcraft in Müller, p. 108 ff.

[2] The Arickarees, a Mengwe tribe, call the first man Ihkotschu, also Ssiritsch.

[3] *Qua=kami*, "god," and *hutze=kitschi*, "great."

[4] Comp. the Nena of the Aztecs, § 299, and of the Indians of Martiaca, § 300.

restoration the formula Metai. 7. The Wiandots say that the creator made two brothers, one good and one bad; the latter slew his mother, and was therefore slain by the creator, and the grandmother, who had incited him to the murder, was transformed into the moon. 8. According to a tradition of the Mengwes and Lenilenapi, the first man was called Numank Matschana (by the Mönitarris, Ehsicka Wahäddish), and is identified with the hero of the flood, and then even with the great spirit himself. It may mean perhaps the appearing of God in human form; see *B*, Nos. 4 and 5. 9. The Chippeways and Dogrib-Indians say that the earth was at first covered with water; then a terribly powerful bird dived into the water (comp. § 301, the bird Wakon, and Gen. i. 2, the Spirit of God brooding on the face of the waters, which the Dogribs may perhaps have heard of from the Danish missionaries; but it is more probable to think of the bird Wakon), then the earth rose out of the water, and at his command animals came forth. 10. The Mingos, a Mengwe tribe, say that Mitschabu, the occupier of heaven (Taronhiawagon), lived for a generation among men. He conquered the giants by hurling great stones at them.[1] The Onondagas, who call him Hiawatha, "the heavenly," have the same tradition.

[1] Müller, p. 119.

SECOND BOOK.

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THE REVELATION OF GOD.

§ 303. *Summary of Results already gained.*

WHAT was stated in § 190 by way of assertion has now been established by the detailed examination which we have made of the history of civilisation and religion among all the races of mankind. We have nowhere been able to discover the least trace of any forward and upward movement from Fetichism to Polytheism, and from that again to a gradually advancing knowledge of the One God; but, on the contrary, WE HAVE FOUND AMONG ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE HEATHEN WORLD A MOST DECIDED TENDENCY TO SINK FROM AN EARLIER AND RELATIVELY PURER KNOWLEDGE OF GOD; even among such as are wholly sunk in the rude superstition of Fetichism there still exist certain reminiscences, like the ruins of an earlier worship, of one invisible Creator and Ruler of the world, which are objectively all the more important because they are no longer understood by the degraded people. The cause of this sinking has invariably been found to be the tendency to excuse and apologize for sin, to lull to sleep the accusing conscience, and to drive to a distance the holy God. Hand in hand with this religious deterioration we meet with deterioration in culture and civilisation. The islands of the Malays, North and South America, not less than Asia and Africa, have afforded us historical proofs that the most remote antiquity was an age of highest and most widely-spread civilisation, not in the sense of asserting that in the course of later centuries very important technical inventions and discoveries were not made, and civil and social conditions were not more and more thoroughly elaborated, but in the sense of affirming that under far simpler conditions, and by far simpler means, the civilisation of that remote antiquity was far nobler and more

ingenious than that of later times. The world has become more artificial, not more spiritual or full of genius (§ 257). The scientific knowledge of nature among men left to their own resources therefore in the realm of heathenism, has developed itself essentially only on the side of astronomy, as observation of the stars, which was connected with a study of the significance of the stars,—a study belonging to the remotest antiquity. Physics among the Greeks remained still in its swaddling-clothes. The farthest advanced in scientific knowledge among the ancients were the Old Persians (§ 208), but just these were the people who worshipped the One invisible God.[1] All higher advance of science was first secured under the daylight which was shed abroad by Christianity. Art, in the more exact sense of the term, is as old as mankind, and belongs to the very idea of man. We do not know any civilised people of antiquity who were not in possession of poetry and music. The latter was cultivated in the earliest times among the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Chinese; the system of acoustic development was awkward, but had a distinctive character of its own. In the development of architecture and the plastic arts, as we pass from the Egyptians and Assyrians to the Greeks, we note a decided advance similar to that which we observe in the development of poetry, —an advance, however, which was followed by reaction and decay. Invariably where civilisation in the higher sense was developed in a people, it burst forth like a northern light, only soon to be quenched again, like a flash of lightning illuminating different nations in succession, and leaving behind it a darkness more dense than that which it found. The ancient civilisation of the Egyptians passed away; that of the Indians has become corrupt; that of the Chinese is fossilized; the Christian nations have served themselves heirs to the civilisation of Greece and Rome; and the old civilised empires of the Malays, Aymares, and Toltecs are known to us only from their

[1] Even the learning of the Alexandrians rested essentially on the basis of Egyptian and Oriental learning.

ruins. But while civilisation, like a fleeting flash of light, illumined for a little a few races, history shows us among the untold multitude of other peoples and tribes the process of inconceivable savagery, and even amongst those few civilisation was not able to break the power of moral evil. Sin had indeed become a national habit, a national institution, which underlay their forms of civilisation. Sin operates in the direction of barbarism. When once the one holy God has been banished to a distance and forgotten, the second step is no longer difficult, whereby polytheism is degraded into a blind superstition, or exchanged for a frivolous irreligiousness and scepticism. The history of religions shows us at every step that the one holy God is forgotten by men; but nowhere that He is found, conceived of, discovered by them. Even where reformatory movements back toward God on the part of those who had forgotten God make their appearance, as in the 6th century before Christ, we find that either there had been previous deformations and perversions (as in the case of Sakya-Mouni and Confucius), or the reformation, even if honourably and honestly meant, bore already in itself (as in the case of Zarathustra, comp. § 222 f.) the seeds of further decay. The history of man left to himself is not development, but retrogression and decline.

And now we come upon a second incontestable result of our investigations: THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE AND THE UNITY OF ITS PRIMITIVE TRADITION, *i.e.* THE TRUTH OF ITS EARLY HISTORY. Whether or not the conjectures ventured upon in § 247 about the ancestors of the several families of nations may be altogether correct, may be a matter still open for discussion, but, quite independent of this question, resting on purely physiological, ethnographical, historical, and linguistic investigations, is the scientifically certain fact that the population of all parts of the earth has gone forth from the west of Inner Asia, the Euphrates region. To all parts of the earth they took the remembrance of One invisible God, who in the beginning had revealed Himself visibly to man; of

a sin committed by the first parents, begun by the wife in her eating of forbidden fruit under the influence of a tempter, who for the most part appears in connection with a serpent; of the entrance of death as consequence and punishment of this sin; of a brother's murder; of three brothers who discovered the arts, namely, the working of metals; of a race of mighty men or giants who rebelled against God (specially "demanding the daughters of the gods for their wives"); of a flood that covered the highest mountains, in which all men but one family perished; of a mountain on whose top this family landed; of birds which the father of this family sent forth; of a rainbow which stood in some relation to their deliverance; of the three sons of this man as ancestors of the various peoples; of a new rebellion against God, when men sought to rear a building which should reach to heaven; of a fire from heaven which destroyed this building, confused the languages, and scattered the races of mankind over the face of the earth.[1] But these traditions of the heathen bear to the primitive tradition of the Israelites the relation which crude, often perverted and confused, misty glimmerings bear to the clear light of day, so that the sense of those legends is often first intelligible through comparison with this clear history. In them sin is excused, Noah is confounded with Adam, even with God Himself, men are raised into gods, here and there (comp. § 300 and § 302, *B* 2) the serpent is directly celebrated and worshipped as the benefactor of humanity, who confers wealth or wisdom. And still, in spite of all such distortions, the characteristic features, down to minute details (such as the rainbow, the sending out of the birds, then in the Iranian tradition, § 224, the three stories of the galleries and the window), are so faithfully reproduced that it is impossible to doubt as to the original identity of these traditions and the original traditions of Scripture. THE MOST DIVERSE PEOPLES, SPRUNG FROM THE MOST DIVERSE STEMS, HAVE THE REMEMBRANCE OF ONE COMMON

[1] Comp. § 207, 224, 231, 240, 255, 260, 262, 266, 268, 269, 271 (sub *C*), 272, 274, 278, 281, 283, 287, 288, 289, 296 (comp 298), 302.

PRIMITIVE HISTORY OF THEIR COMMON ANCESTORS, AND THIS COMMON GROUND IN THEIR REMINISCENCES EXTENDS DOWN EXACTLY TO THE BUILDING OF THE TOWER AND THE CONFUSION OF LANGUAGES, AND NO FURTHER. These peoples could not have had a reminiscence of this common primitive history unless this had been transmitted to them by their forefathers. The conclusion that "because the heathen have similar traditions, the original biblical tradition is itself no better than such traditions," is the *ne plus ultra* of absurdity and vacuity. The adoption of this conclusion presupposes that the common, still unseparated ancestors of our race had combined and had concocted, invented, and forged among them that "legend" of the creation, the fall, the flood, etc.; for if it is not history, but legend, it must have been devised; and if it was devised, it must have been devised by somebody (one or many); and if peoples, who for thousands of years, until a few hundred years ago, lived quite apart from one another, so that these traditions could not have been communicated to one another by mutual intercourse,—all alike, one as well as another, have versions and representations of one and the same tradition,—it must have been the common ancestors of these scattered peoples who concocted these traditions. But the traditions reach down to the scattering of the peoples, and include the story of that scattering! How could the still unseparated race devise the legend of the confusion of languages and scattering of peoples as having actually taken place, and have brought themselves to believe it? And how, again, could this report of the tower building and the scattering of peoples be found among the most diverse races, the Odshi negroes in Western Africa, the Tongans in Polynesia, the Toltecs in Mexico, etc., unless it had been a heritage to those several peoples from their own tribal ancestors? and this could be only if it were not a legend, but the story of actual facts. The common element in the original pagan traditions in which the most diverse peoples of all parts of the earth and of all races agree (while they differ widely from one another in their

special polytheistic national legends according to race and family, comp. § 266), affords evidence for the historical truth of the original biblical tradition.

Obs.—A lie is the ape of truth, paganism the ape of the revelation of God. Some Chinese tribes, among which no other trace of Buddhist influence appears (so the Incas, § 295), had a custom of a solemn bathing of newly-born children, a custom which undoubtedly (just like the institution of running posts) came in very early times from the Iranians (§ 216) to the Mongolians. There was no specially religious significance associated with this bathing performance (see § 216); it has therefore only an external resemblance to Christian baptism. The Dîkshâ ceremonial of the Brahmins, described in § 202, has a much more particular and genuine resemblance to the ordinance of baptism. It may have been that which suggested the Buddhist baptism of children, which in § 299 we again met with among the Aztecs. But what conclusion is to be drawn from all this? Nothing more than that in an extreme antiquity, even among men left to themselves, the knowledge sprang up that the condition of man was an organically perverse one, that it was necessary for him that he should be wholly born again (see § 202). A correct postulate in earliest time, perhaps even among the Iranians, lay at the basis of that practice,—a postulate such as that repeated by John the Baptist, the fulfilment of which, however, was first accomplished by Christ, for He met the need of regeneration in Christian baptism with the pledge and guarantee of the new birth. Paganism had at first only the postulate, then only a no longer understood symbol of the postulate.—Among more than one pagan nation we meet with the tradition, not only of sons of God who, because they were only the immediate consequence of polytheism and of polytheistic genealogies of the gods, stand not in a relation of analogy but of opposition to the revealed Son of God, but also of some sort of virgin's son. But here all those legends which are of Phœnician origin pass quite out of account (§ 250, *Obs.* 2) as symbolical adaptations of astronomical observations (the waxing of the moon represented as the fructification of the moon-goddess). They have only an accidental and caricature resemblance to the sacred mystery, with which D. F. Strauss (*Leben Jesu krit. bearb.* i. § 14), undeterred by any feelings of modesty, has not scrupled to represent them as parallel. Even the legend of the son of the sun among the Mongolian races (§ 266, 269, 286, 298) has, according to § 266, a polytheistic origin. The sun-god was conceived of by the Mongolian races as an inferior deity, occupying a position far beneath the Creator of the world, and

it was to him that the genealogical tree of the reigning family pointed back. The might of lies produces caricatures which bears a relation to the truth such as a caricature or parody bears to a genuine work of art.—The symbol of the cross is found, we can scarcely say with what meaning, on old pre-Christian Celtic coins or medals, as also among the Scandinavian runes, likewise as a handle-cross among the emblems of the Indian Siva; and so it was adopted in Buddhism, and with it found its way among the Aztecs, in whose system of hieroglyphics, according to Ixtilxocutil, it represented the god of rain and health, and also the tree of nourishment. Even on Egyptian monuments the handle-cross is found, where, according to Champollion, it signifies help. The mathematical figure of two lines bisecting one another at right angles is in itself one so simple that it need not occasion surprise that among various races it should be found used as a sign for various things or ideas. Similarity to the historical Roman instrument of torture, and consequently to the Christian cross, is explicable as a purely casual one; and nothing is more groundless than when J. W. von Müller, upon the pre-existence of that Buddhist ideogram among the Aztecs, rears the conjecture that the Apostle Thomas had gone to America, and there had preached (to the Aztecs?!!) Christianity. He and Tiedemann (*Heidelb. Jahrb.* 1851, 176) thought that they recognised in Quetzalcoatl a portrait of the apostle!—One might push the parallel of seeming resemblance between the heathen religion and the divine revelation to yet greater length. The latter even had its animal symbolism. The serpent of Paradise is indeed no symbol, but belongs to the history; only paganism has here and there made of the serpent a beneficent deity, dispensing wealth or wisdom (see in the section above). But if, among the Egyptians, the persons of several deities were sensibly represented in the form of particular kinds of animals, is not also the Saviour of the world described as the Lamb of God and as the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and was there not a visible descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him in the form of a dove? Yes, quite true. Paganism gives us here again the caricature of the truth. In the revelation of God, the Lamb, the Lion, and the Dove, also the כרובים, the ox, and the eagle (Ezek. i. 10; Rev. iv. 1), may serve for similitudes and symbols, and that rightly and without desecration of that which is holy; for they are indeed (§ 91) divine thoughts which are realized in nature and in the several orders of the animal kingdom. In the relation of the head to the members, of the vine to the branches, of the seed-corn to the future harvest, of hunger and thirst and the satisfying of them, of the father and mother to the child, of brother to brother, of bridegroom to bride, higher and richer spiritual relations are mirrored forth. All nature is a parable of

spiritual things. There are also ethical qualities, like the patience, courage, purity mirrored in the lamb, lion, dove, and thus the lower can be used in order to set forth the higher by way of similitude. Paganism has made a caricature of this, a distorted representation, for it viewed the animal, not as a similitude, but as the residence and incarnation of a deity (John i. 32 and parallel passages do not speak of the animal as residence and incarnation, but gives in vision an animal form by way of similitude to the visible manifestation of the Holy Spirit), and so the higher is sunk into the lower, and instead of a tendency to rise upwards from the creature to the Creator, head and knee are bowed low in the dust before a creature lower than man, yea, in the very filth, and here and there (§ 263 and § 267) the utmost extreme is reached by men tracing back their own descent from the irrational beasts,—to which extreme the wisdom of modern denial of God once again inclines.—The שׂרפים, Isa. vi. 2 ff., are not to be derived, with Gesenius, as serpent-gods, from שׂרף, "serpents," but as sitters upon the throne, with Winer, from the Arab. *sharîf*. How should Isaiah have come upon the idea of serpent-gods when he had, in chap. xxvii. 1, used the serpent as symbol of God-opposing powers!

FIRST SECTION.

THE REDEMPTIVE ACTS OF GOD.

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§ 304. *The Flood.*

THAT the law of the Macrocosmos of nature as well as of the Microcosmos of man, before there was more than the possibility that man should decide for that which is evil, were ordained of God, has been shown in § 129 ff. That the temptation of the first man could have taken place in no other form than that under which it did take place according to Gen. iii., and which is now witnessed to by the traditions of all the races of mankind, has been shown in § 128. When the fall had taken place, and consequently the penalty of toilsome labour and the doom of death, we have the beginning of a series of facts by which the living God, who is gracious as well as holy, co-operates with man himself in the realization of the development of the human race, in order to secure that it should be preserved redeemable, *i.e.* to save it from sinking from a sinful condition (§ 114–124) into one of obduracy (comp. § 130 and § 131). The first of these facts is the flood, the second the confusion of languages and the scattering of peoples. With the call of Abraham as father of a chosen people begins the series of those divine operations which positively prepare the way for redemption; but alongside of these the first series, that of operations of a disciplinary character, with the object of keeping within the range of redemption, still always continues in operation. The God-forgetting, but, in respect of the creaturely capacities of human nature, highly-endowed race of

Cain lived from the first apart from the God-fearing race of Shem,[1] those "sons of God," Gen. vi. 2, whose genealogy is also significantly traced back in Gen. i. 1 ff. and Luke iii. 38 to God as the creator of Adam. Universal overthrow became imminent when both races began to get mixed up together. More than this is not said in the words of Gen. vi. 1 ff. Although in Job i. 6 "the sons of God" may be understood of the angels, yet in Gen. i.-vi. no mention is made of angels; and only good angels, who remained holy (as in Job i. 6), not the fallen and evil angels, could be described as *b'ne Elohim*. Even Christ the Lord brings as a reproach against Noah's contemporaries only this, that they spent their time frivolously, "they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage" (Matt. xxiv. 38; Luke xvii. 26); of supernatural, extraordinary forms of wickedness, of sexual intercourse between demons and women, he had read nothing in that passage from Genesis. The pagan traditions speak of a race of giants in antediluvian times; Holy Scripture knows nothing of such. As though it would directly shut out all such legends of pagan neighbouring nations, the Scripture says at ver. 4: "The Nephilim were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men," etc. In fact, even Num. xiii. 33, in the time of Moses, speaks of the Nephilim as sons of Anak (comp. ver. 22); but they were, according to ver. 28, reckoned simply as men of strength, and, according to Deut. i. 28, ii. 10, ix. 2, as "tall people," *i.e.* people of great stature, and there is no idea of reckoning them supernatural giants; on the contrary, Joshua succeeds in subduing them (Josh. xi. 21 f., xv. 13 f.). And so, too, in Num. xiii. 32 they are quite simply characterized as *an'schê middôth*, "people of great stature." If so, then in the word נפיל we cannot find the meaning "giant,"[2] but at most that

[1] Gen. iv. 26, where אז means not "then" but "there," is to be understood not temporally but locally (in opposition to the land of Nod and its Cainite inhabitants).

[2] The extraordinarily large Og (Deut. iii. 11), whose bed, according to the account of one who had this relic before him, was 9 cubits long, *i.e.*

of "a man of large growth." We may perhaps derive the word from an obsolete stem נפל=פול (Arab. *phâla*, "to grow, to become thick;" Aram. and Arab. *phîl*, "elephant," as a thick, plump animal), which seems to me better than Winer's derivation from נפל, in the sense of *irruere*.—Such people of great stature are said by the author of Genesis to have lived, not only before the flood, but also after it; and then he contradicts the legendary tales of the pagans in whose fancy the antediluvian race had grown into giants in the fabulous, mythical sense, yea, were even elevated into gods. It was not, moreover, in their size of body that the danger lay, but in this, that the forgetfulness of God which characterized the Cainites affected also the children of Seth. When the living God, who guides the course of nature according to natural laws and yet according to His own will (§ 101, *Obs.*), allowed the flood to go up, this need as little be regarded as a miracle as the earlier tertiary and secondary floods. That He revealed Himself to Noah, and directed him to build an ark, this rather belongs to the category of miracles (§ 134). The historical truth of the flood, and Noah's deliverance and that of his three sons, is witnessed to by the traditions of all the families of races on the earth (§ 303); with this, too, geology thoroughly agrees (see § 257).

§ 305. *The Confusion of Languages and Separation of Peoples.*

The primitive occurrence of the flood had the intention and result of keeping mankind in a redeemable condition, inasmuch as it prevented the disaster of an obdurate forgetfulness of God gaining dominion over all men down to the last, but it was not itself an act of redemption. Thus, then, that organic decadence, *i.e.* that pathological sinful condition (§ 114 ff.), continued to exist after the flood, and led, five generations

somewhere about 2.7 metres or 10 feet, his length of body would then be about 8 feet. He is not designated Naphil.

after Noah, but several centuries after the flood, to the reiteration of a catastrophe of a critical kind. The endeavour to drive away the holy God, whose all-seeing nearness was a painful experience to the accusing conscience of the sinner, and of whom "we wish to rid ourselves," led to an extremely clever, but thoroughly satanically clever, notion: "Let us no longer be creatures of God, but let us make a god, who will be our creature and of our kind and nature." A *Shêm*, a symbol and figure of this god, was to be set up for worship. That this is the meaning of Gen. xi. 4 has been already shown in § 255, and if we refer back to the history of the heathen religions in Book I., we can scarcely doubt that it was the sun, which as operating beneficently, shining impartially on the evil and the good, was singled out as that god. It is always the sun that in all the religions of men, that is, the pagan religions, first enters alongside of the invisible creator as a secondary deity. But then in the time of Pheleg it makes its appearance as the only god in his place, the visible creature in place of the invisible creator, the natural law in place of the moral law. It was what we might expect of the sun-god shining in the heavens, that the temple building reared to his honour should reach high above the earth, stretching toward heaven, as the region of the clouds was called. With what individual this idea originated, whether with a descendant of Shem, or of Ham, or of Japhet, is not recorded. Hence it may be concluded, that by whomsoever it may have been first suggested, the whole race of mankind, still occupying a common dwelling-place, were agreed and unanimous regarding it, and found in the proposition only that which each of them had half-consciously been entertaining in his own heart. The morally indifferent regulative course of nature, which reached its highest point in the illuminating, warming sun distinguishing day from night, was to take the place of the holy, living God. Then God manifested Himself as the living One, the Creator and Lord. By an act of revelation of Himself, the foolish race of mankind must be reminded that the creation can make no

God, cannot create its own creator, but is bound to worship Him who is God. He comes down, whether in a form actually visible to men or in another way, is not told. The former supposition we may regard as improbable; that still after the fall the creator[1] should appear in visible form among men, of this we find no trace among the traditions of the nations. Had God appeared in human form among the tower builders at Babel, we should certainly have found in the earliest types of heathenism images of the creator of the world in the form of a man. Such images, however, occur only at a late date. The Adityas of the oldest Vedic religion were invisible. The Iranians, the Germans, the Basques had no images of the gods. The Ugro-Finnic and Mongolian peoples expressly declare that the creator of the world (Taara, Nagatai, Pachacamac, etc.) was invisible. But the Ugro-Finns confounded the idea of the invisible creator of the world with that of Taara, the thunder-god, the thundering ancient (Ukko); just as among the Germans Tius, "God," is the *thonar*, among the Pelasgians Ζεύς, and among the Latins Dius-pater is he who thunders and lightens. The form of the special thunder-god Volcanus, Percuna, Fairguns, owes its origin evidently to a later polytheistic distinguishing of the forms of the gods. Did God manifest Himself in lightning and thunder to the builders of the tower? If we imagine that before the flood the constitution and composition of the atmosphere must necessarily have been different from what it is now, and that then also the primitive tradition before the flood knows only of deposition of dew and not of rain (Gen. ii. 6), then it is no over-subtle assumption that the first thunderstorm appeared one and a half century later than the first rain, namely, that of the flood; and indeed a thunderstorm of a terrific description, by means of which hitherto unheard-of occurrence the living God made of

[1] The anthropomorphic appearance of polytheistic deities, *e.g.* of Zeus become a mythological deity, do not naturally come into consideration here. We have here to do only with such legends as have in them a reminiscence of an underlying primitive monotheism, as *e.g.* § 302; *B.* 4–5; § 278, *B.* etc.

the lofty building a heap of ruins,[1] revealed His might and His being, and by means of this occurrence awakening terror in the souls of men deep enough to paralyse the powers of their souls, and so to introduce that which He in His gracious and wise counsel desired: a breaking up of the human race into various nationalities. As each appearance of the rainbow anew reminded men of the tender mercy of God, every thunderstorm must have reminded them of that manifestation of His judicial holiness and of Him the living and holy One,[2] and the division into separate nations made one grand concentration of wickedness and obdurate defiance of God impossible.—The primary cause of the separation of peoples was the confusion of languages, not the converse, and the primary cause of the confusion of languages was a psychical impression of a paralysing nature from that unprecedentedly terrible occurrence. If we assume in this case a sudden confusion of tongues, we have then indeed the flippant, modern theory against us, but the results of more careful and comprehensive researches in comparative philology are in our favour. If one really would picture to himself the circumstances that an individual had suddenly to begin to speak Greek, another German, another Russian, a fourth Arabic, a fifth Egyptian, etc., their fancy would seem as absurd as anything that could be conceived. The matter here cannot relate to the multiplicity of later languages, but only of some few principal or fundamental tongues, each of which is to be regarded as the mother of a cognate family of languages. We may assume as such: The

[1] According to Nostiz in Helfer's *Travels*, in the ruins of Birs Nimrud lay huge stones blasted by lightning, which must have been hurled down from an immense height.

[2] Down to this very day! For though natural science ten times should discover in electricity the secondary cause of the thunderstorm, it is ever the living God who designedly ordains it, as well as all natural laws, and even that of electricity itself (§ 74), and who in these laws and by them works out His own free determinations. The lightning flashes are in His hand unaffected by the law of electricity, which binds and fetters Him as little as the physiological laws of the circulation of the blood, and of the nerves, etc., hinder me in the free use of my hand (see § 101, *Obs.*).

early Semitic (closely related to the Arabic, according to § 245, *Obs.*), the Indo-Irano-Pelasgian, the Early Cymbrian, Getic, Early Sarmatian, Ugrian, Mongolian along with Early Malayan, Old Egyptian, Cushite, besides one or two other Hamitic languages. That all these languages are in possession of originally related roots, namely, of root words for the simplest and most original leading ideas, has been long admitted in reference to the Indo-Iranian, Pelasgian, Cymbrian, Getic or Germanic, Sarmatian or Slavic. That this primitive relationship extends also to the Semitic languages has been proved by R. v. Raumer and Fr. Delitzsch; and that it extends to the Egyptian language has been proved by Ebers (see § 247, *Obs.* 4). The close connection of the Ugrian, Mongolian, and Malayan languages in their earliest forms with the other Japhetic languages, has been demonstrated in § 256 and § 270; and in § 280–302, I have shown that the various languages of the tribes and nationalities of the New World, as well as those tribes themselves, are sprung from the Old World. Although we do not now possess any further facts beyond these isolated instances of very early relationship between the various languages of the earth, we can nevertheless come to the conclusion that these families and groups of languages branched off gradually from one another, and by degrees distinguished themselves and secured a distinct and characteristic form. But whoever has attentively followed the investigations carried on in § 256, 264, 270, etc., must have been impressed by a second series of facts. Besides the early relationship, an early distinction in the possession of genuine primitive roots which go not hand in hand with the diversity of descent, but intersect one another, and that in such a way that the dozen primitive languages which we have been obliged to assume seem from the earliest times to have been split up and severed into a great number of dialects or idioms of particular tribes, where now the group of tribes belonging to one family of peoples have a series of roots in common with groups of tribes of quite a foreign family, while the tribes of the

former have in use for the corresponding ideas words that are altogether different. We may designate this a scattering or diffusion of words and roots, and will prove our contention by adducing a series of examples.

1. For hand the Latin has the root *man-*, which we again meet with in the Ugrian and Mongol. *mata*, "to bend," and in the thence derived Sonor. Aztec, and other American words for hand: *ma, mowa, mai,* etc. On the other hand, among the Pelasgians and Greeks this root for hand is quite lost, and instead of it the Sanscr. root *hr*, "to rend, to seize" (Zend *zar*), as χείρ, has come into use. The Old Latin, too, had still *hir*. The Germans had neither of the two, but Goth. *handus* (corresponding to the Greek κεντ-, "sting, twig," in κέντρον and κεντέω). The Basques have seized on the root σχεῖν, "to have, to hold," and from it form *escu*. The Celts from the root present in the Greek λαμβάνειν have formed *lab, lamb, lam*. The Bantu languages have a root *ok, oko* (sing. *koko*, plur. *miako*); the Acra languages, *ninde, nine*. And, finally, the Malayan has taken the root *tang-*, which we meet with again in the Lat. *tangere* and in the Germ. *zanga*, "pincers," only with a different application. Quite different from all that is the Semitic root *jadd*. We find here the phenomenon of particular Indo-Germanic tribes, in order to express an idea for which in the primitive common language of the still unscattered people there must of necessity have existed a word, and for which, in fact, there was a word, allowing this word to pass out of their vocabulary and using instead a word altogether different, which with some other application had also belonged to the common primitive language.

2. For tooth the Semitic languages (in their *schan-n*) have, in common with the most of the Japhetic (Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Ugrian, Sonora) and the languages of the Swaheli, Gandas, and Kaffirs, the root *dant-, tann-*; the Malay-Polynesian languages have for this a root *ngip, nif*,[1] and have no longer any trace of the old primitive root. The Rua language has *neno*, resembling the Malayan *nif*. Other negro languages have *meno, lino, neno, imino*.

3. For mouth we find a root variously constructed with *m* among the Indians (*mukka*), the Goths (*munths*), the Mongols (*ama, hamun, amga;* comp. Son. *cama*), which the Basques have in the form of *minha*, meaning "tongue," the Malays as *muka, mata*, with the signification of "countenance, eye," the

[1] With probably collateral relation to the Old High German *gnîant, knîtan*, "to rub."

Bantu language in Africa and the Sabinda negroes as *munu* (sing. *umunu*, plur. *iminu*), "mouth," the Rua language in Central South Africa as *makanu*, the Swaheli as *kinwa*, the Baregga, Gande, Manjema, etc., as *kama*, *kamwa*, *kaniwa*, *uniwa*; on the other hand, among the Greeks and among the Malayans, immediately related not to these but to the Mongols, there is another root στόμα, Bug. *timu*, from root ταμ-εῖν, "to cut," with which *dan-*, "mouth," in the Acra language (a negro dialect), may be compared. So also *dé*, *da*, "mouth," among the Susi and Mandingo negroes, and again among the Latins *or-*, which originally meant "countenance," from the root *wor*, *war*, ὁράω. Then, further, the Germans and Malays have yet another root, *mul* (Javan. *mulut*), which may indeed be related to the first named, and which we again meet with among Njamwesi and Sukuma negroes as *mulomo*, *m'lomo*, among the Tschuani and Kaffirs as *molomo*, *umlomo*. The Amharia, together with the Gallas and Somali, have for mouth a fifth root, *af*, *affan*, *off*.

4. For "foot" and "to go," the Lat., in common with the Mongol., has the two roots *culc-*, *calc-*, and *tal* (*-us*); the Tagal. and Malag. have, in common with the Greek, Latin, and German, the root *pad*, ποδ, *ped-*, *fuoz*, *paa*, *pe*; while two other Malayan tribes (Malays of the Straits Settlements and Javanese) have preserved the root *culc* in the forms *haki*, *sikil*, *suku*. *Kolu*, *gulu*, *ulle*, "foot" in the Bantu language (sing. *kulle*, plur. *malle*), may also be related to *culc*. On the other hand, the Rua language has *uswaga*. Among the Njamwesi and their neighbours we find for foot the words *lu-geri*, *kī-geri*, *ki-rengi*, *vi-rengi*.

5. For "to speak" we find the Greek root φραδ- in New Zealand and Tahiti as *parau* (in Bug. shortened into *pau*), while the root *lab* is retained in Tongan and Hawaian in the form of *lea* (New Zeal. and Tahit. *rea*, *reo*), and the Ugr. *leo*, *lau*, which we find in Lat. *labium*, Celt. *labar* ("word"), Anglo-Saxon *lippa*; but the Lat. has modified this root *lab* into *loc-*(*loqui*), and the Mongolian languages have introduced for it two roots, *nob-* and *noc-*. The Germans have for it the roots Goth. *rathjan* (Old High Germ. *radja*, *redjôn*, "to reckon," *ratio*, ἀριθμός), *sprëhhan* (comp. Sanscr. *sphurdsh*, "to sound, to thunder"), and *seggjan*, *sagên*; but the Tagals and Malagassy use *tinging*, *tsinging* (Lat. *tinnire*), and the Arca negroes have *kĕ*, a modification of *ke*, "to cry out," which resembles Goth. *qithan* and Lat. *inquit*. In the whole south-east of Africa the prefix *ki* is used to designate the language of a people, *e.g.* Ki-rua, the language of the Warua; Ki-ganda, the language of the country U-ganda, or of the people Wa-ganda.

6. For the word sinew, nerve, the Germans, Basques, and the (according to § 297, Ugro-Finnic) Chichimecs and Aztecs have

in common Sehne, *senawa, zaina, tatta* (from the root *tan*, τείνω). The Greeks and Latins have for that νεῦρον, *nervus*, from a root *ner* (Old High Germ. *snâra, snuor*, "cord, string"); the Acra negroes have a third root, *fâ*.

The same phenomenon is repeated throughout, and instead of those six examples we might give a hundred and sixty. I shall only further refer to the single but important instance, that for the idea of God the Indians, Latins, Celts, Mongolians, and Malayans have words from the root *div: dêva, deus, dia, tai, tao, tuan, etooa* (which among Greeks and Germans has become a proper name, as Δεῦς, Ζεῦς, and Tius, Ziu); the Iranians and Slavs, *bóga, bog*, with which is closely connected Pungu, Boka, Bonga, Mungu, common to the Hamitic races. The Assamese and Germans have *khóta, guths, cot;* the Esthonians *jumala;* the Malayans (besides *tuwan*), *waka* (§ 281, *Obs.* 1). The Germans have in common with the Semites the root אל, *alla, i'lu*, in the Old High German form, *alhs, alah*, "sanctuary," only with a modification of meaning. How remarkably here and everywhere does diversity in vocabulary appear among peoples that are closely related in respect of race! Groups of nations of very remote relationship have for some of the simplest material designations words which are formed out of the same primitive root, and peoples which are connected together by the closest affinities have, with occasional resemblance of laws of grammatical construction and roots, for a number of the simplest primitive ideas words from wholly different roots. Only the Semitic tribes afford here a relative exception, in so far as they sharply distinguish themselves from the rest of the related peoples by the possession of many roots peculiar to themselves, *e.g.* יד, ים, etc.; while, on the other hand, they have preserved among one another so nearly the same roots,—a new proof that the Semites, after the confusion of languages and the scattering of the peoples took place, had continued for a long time (according to § 254, down to the overthrow of the empire of Nimrod) to live on as one undivided nationality

(under Cushite, that is, Hamitic sovereignty) on the banks of the Euphrates, where then first the Arabs, unaffected by the Baal-worship, must have been driven out by them (§ 254, *Obs.*).—That scattering of the peoples, which affected the Japhetic and most of the Hamitic races, in view of the fact of the crossing and interchange of roots above referred to, cannot be conceived of by us otherwise than as having as its primary cause this breaking up of the original tongue into many languages. Had the various families of nations in the moment of their dispersion still spoken the one original language, it would indeed be conceivable that it would for that time undergo many modifications of sound among the various peoples, even that for new ideas, which arose in consequence of advances in civilisation and industry, each nationality should have created its own new words; but it would not be conceivable that those peoples should have forgotten and wilfully abandoned words of the original language which had been in common use from the earliest times for the simplest and most primitive ideas, *e.g.* for the most essential parts of the human body and the bodily functions, for which, too, the original language must necessarily have been already supplied with words. And even if one should still regard this as possible, it can scarcely be regarded as conceivable that in the forming of new expressions for these old primitive ideas they should have seized upon old primitive roots which had been in use only among another remote people and not among themselves. If we assume that the word of the original language for sinew was one formed from the root *nar, ner*, and that the Basques had taken this word with them in their wanderings, and that only at a later period in Western Europe they had let it drop out of view, how in all the world could they thus have hit upon the word *zaina*, which was identical with the word *senewa* of the Geto-Germans, then living far in the depths of Asia, and lying at the basis of the root *tan* (τείνω), now completely lost in the Basque? Or if we make the converse assumption, that the

primitive word for sinew was one formed from the root *tan*, and that the Greeks and Latins, as well as the Basques and Germans, had taken the same word with them in their wanderings, and that it was only at a later period, first in Asia Minor and Southern Europe, that it passed out of use, how in all the world did they in the forming of a new word for that idea hit upon the root *nar, ner*, which was not present in their languages, but only in the German *snara!* It is therefore incontestable that the Greeks and Latins must have seized upon *νεῦρον, nervus*, the Germans, Basques, and Mongols upon *tân, sen, zaina*, at a moment when the original language still continued to exist as a common tongue, and when the primitive roots were still used in unreflecting thinking (§ 51 ff.), and to reflective thought presented themselves involuntarily. Each family of nations retained in memory some portion of the vocabulary of the original language for common objects and forgot the rest, and for these others formed for themselves new words from unconsciously, *i.e.* unreflectively, present roots of the original language. And in this way it happened that nationalities which were not closely related to one another agreed in the retention of the same primitive words, or even in seizing upon the same primitive roots for the formation of new words. There must therefore have been a moment when they could no longer recollect the expressions formerly in use for the most common of all things and notions; some wanted one expression, others wanted another; then the descendants of Javan, and at the same time a pair of separate Malay families of the stock of Magog, in order to designate the mouth, seized upon the root *tam*, "to cut into, to bite," which then unconsciously or half-consciously survived among them, though at a later period it became quite forgotten by the Malays, and designated the mouth as *στόμα, timu*, "bite;" the ancestors of the Latins purposely seized upon the general expression *or* "countenance;" the Semites on the primitive root *fâ, wâ*, "to blow, to sound" (see § 260. *Obs.* 1); while the ancestors of the Indians, Goths,

and Mongols, and a portion of the Hamites (the negro tribes), retained the undoubtedly original root word *mu* in the further developed forms of *mukka, muths, muno, mûl.* . The primitive word *pad, ped*, for "foot" and "to go," was lost by the Mongols, and they laid hold upon *calc-*, "to stamp," and *tal-*, "sole." According to the result of researches in comparative philology, this is what must have taken place. It was not by any means a comical, but an extremely tragical and terrible occurrence, as, in consequence of the most frightful, soul-harrowing catastrophe, such a partial insanity, such a partial madness, such a disturbance of soul and confusion of mind came over the human race, and the dread of the already appearing loss of the capacity of understanding one another drove them apart in all directions. Thus the family of Ashkenaz was driven toward the north-west, through Armenia and over the Caucasus as far as the Danube, along the Alps on the lakes and thence to the Cevennes and Pyrenees, in timorous flight before the power of the living God, whose fear they have preserved for a thousand years (§ 258). After a time they were followed by the family of Riphath, who, as the Celts, rushed down on the west of Europe; while the tribe of Togarmah, as Sarmatians and Slavs, pushed eastward to the Aral lake and then northward. The tribes of Javan made their way into Asia Minor, and thence, soon becoming skilful sailors, they crossed the Bosphorus into Macedonia and Greece, and over Illyria into Etruria (see § 247). The race of Meshech, however, including Scythians, Getae, Germans, pushed also, like that of Togarmah, to the north of the Aral lake, and from thence moved westward, and some centuries before Christ occupied a narrow strip of land between the Celts and the Sarmatians. Of the Hamites, the descendants of Cush moved eastwards to South Arabia and India, and spread out over Madagascar to South Africa and as far as the Congo, over the Sunda islands, over Polynesia and Australia as far as the Gallopagos. After them the vanguard of the Malays of the family of Magog moved on and subdued

and oppressed the Cushites or Melanesians of the Sunda and Polynesian islands. After the Malays came the rest of the branches of the family of Magog, the moving mass of the Mongols, first to lake Baikal, and from thence partly into Mongolia, partly through the district of the Kokonor to China, then southwards to Tibet. The race of Tubal—the Turanians and Ugro-Finnic Tartars — moved on in succession to the Mongols, but only went so far as the Baikal lake, and from that point spread out, most vigorously in pre-Christian times, into two branches: northward to Finland, Lapland, and Siberia, and southwards through Upper Asia to the borders of China and India, the East Mongolian empire threatening China and subduing the west Mongols. The Iranians, descendants of Madai, moved south-eastwards from the Turanians to Persia and Bactria, and the Indians separated themselves from them in religious conflict (§ 218), pushing on to the Punjab and settling down in the region round about the Ganges. The family of Mizraim, however, soon after the scattering of the nations moved across the Red Sea into Middle Egypt, settled in the whole of Egypt and Libya, and sent out the Phœnicians from Mons Casius to Lebanon, the Crétans and Philistines into Crete and Palestine. The race of Phut crossed the Red Sea and Nubia into the Soudan, and peopled Africa with its negro tribes from Atlas southwards to the confines of the Cushite Caffraria and Bechuanaland. The descendants of Canaan moved westward to Palestine. Only the Semitic tribes, together with a portion of the Cushites, the ancestors of the modern Abyssinians as well as the Kolbs speaking a Semitic language, but having black and woolly hair, continued to reside in the plain of the Euphrates, where a God-fearing Cushite, Nimrod, cleared the land of wild beasts (§ 247), founded walled cities, and without opposition was recognised as lord of these united tribes. Without opposition, indeed, but yet on the side of the Semites grudgingly (§ 247). After his death, to the proud hatred of the Semites against the sovereignty of a Hamite there was added the hatred of

the Semites against the God whom this Hamite feared, and whose worship he had persistently maintained. Only the descendants of Arphaxad, as well as the tribes of the family of Joktan, took no part in this demoniacal rebellion against God (§ 249). The latter either now separated themselves from the Euphrates-Semites, or had done so shortly before (along with the Cushites driven into Abyssinia on the overthrow of the empire of Nimrod), and moved toward the south-west into Arabia.

§ 306. *The Cardinal Question: Is the One God a product of Israel? Or is Israel the product of the One God?*

The antediluvian corruption bore the character of light-hearted forgetfulness of God. It was an intensification of sin when one hundred and fifty years after the flood a created substance, the sun, was put in the place of God. They may have thought that in his warming rays, which dried up the remnants of the flood, they discovered a merciful power operating over against the avenging God.[1] This was sinful folly, but it still distinctly bore the character of folly. But when, some two hundred and thirty years later, the Semites had, along with the yoke of the Nimrod-Cushites, cast off the yoke of God, and in full conscious defiance raised the sun as Bi'lu (בעלו) and the moon as Bilit (בעלת) to the throne of worship, and placed these heavenly bodies in such a relation to animal fruitfulness that the act of coition as such, as mere animal energy, dissociated from the ethical background of personal appropriation, was regarded as divine worship and a sacrificial act, and again death by fire and self-mutilation (see § 251) were considered essential acts of worship of the blind nature deity begetting physical life and again destroy-

[1] In the more recent Babylonian tradition, § 255, the one belonging to the stage of the Baal-worship, such a representation again finds a parallel, inasmuch as Istar is set over against Anu. Still this is nothing at all conclusive, for on the other hand Shamas, the sun-god, is regarded as the cause of the flood, and Istar as saving from it.

ing it, this fundamentally destructive perversion of religion, when carried out to its legitimate issue, resulted in diabolical and demoniacal obduracy. Here was the *deisidaimonia* not merely dissociated from ethics, but placed in direct antithesis thereto. This terrible revolt against conscience led to the regarding of that on account of which conscience accuses men as a service acceptable to God. Had mankind then been still one united race, and as united affected by this most potent corruption, our race had then passed beyond the possibility of redemption. But by the divine judgment of the scattering of the nations that followed the second stage of rebellion, it was provided that this third stage should be limited at first to that one of the families of the race which was guilty of this potent revolt, the Semites, yea, only to a portion of these, for the sons of Joktan in Arabia, and in the beginning also the sons of Arphaxad in Mesopotamia, took no part in it, and that only through a long-continued process should the plague of that demoniacal Baal-worship spread among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, and through the former among the Egyptians, Libyans, Greeks, yea, even to America (§ 284).

According to our previous investigations, then, two things are established: Firstly, the disciplinary or punitive acts of revelation of the living God are witnessed to by the traditions common to all the peoples: the Flood, the Scattering of the Races; secondly, the Semitic groups of nations are shown to be far in advance of the Hamitic and Japhetic tribes in the way of polytheistic corruption. Quite in harmony with this, the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament declare that the living God led away a pious man of the race of Arphaxad who still feared Him from the dangerous neighbourhood of the Euphrates-Semites to the Hamite inhabitants of Canaan who were still worshippers of God (§ 248 and § 254); and when the Semitic plague had spread even among these, He led His people into Egypt and made them there grow into a great nation, and by a series of successive acts of revelation among

this people which He had chosen out for the sphere of the future operations of redemption in the incarnation of His eternal Son (§ 137 f.), He once and again awakened their slumbering conscience and kept alive the knowledge of Himself, the one living God, by means of ever new revelations of His holiness and His mercy. Thus Holy Scripture declares to us on every page that the Semitic people Israel was, in itself and according to its natural tendency, in no particular better than, but equally corrupt as, the multitude of the other Semitic tribes; that it was possessed with a demoniacal tendency to polytheism, and indeed specially to Baal-worship, and excessively prone to rebellion against God, and that only by the most unusual acts of revelation on the part of God a fragment of the people—not the whole—was got to retain the knowledge and fear of God. In Israel, Holy Scripture finds nothing lovable or praiseworthy (Amos v. 25 f.; Micah vii. 1 f.; Isa. i. 3 ff.; Dan. ix. 9–13, etc.; comp. Ex. v. 20 f., xvi. 2, xxxii. 1 ff.; Num. xxv. 1; Judg. ii. 11 ff.; 1 Kings xi. 4 f., xii. 28, etc.). It says, indeed, that Israel is a noble people, but it finds its nobility to consist only in this, that God has drawn so near to this people (Deut. iv. 7); the people's nobility consists not in that which the people has done, but in that which God the Lord has done in it. Thus speaks Moses, and just so speaks Paul. The apostle, even where he enumerates the privileges of Israel, can say nothing else than this, that "unto them were committed the oracles of God" (Rom. iii. 2); "the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the law, and the service of God, and the promises" (Rom. ix. 4). Thus God has revealed Himself to Israel as אהיה אשר אהיה, as Him "who is what He is," *i.e.* who is that which He is of Himself, independently of His being worshipped and recognised by men.[1] What is always made by man the object of worship, whether rightly or wrongly,

[1] That this explanation is the right one, and the only philologically possible, has been convincingly proved by Drechsler, *Die Einheit der Genesis Handb.* 1838, p. 11 ff.

is an אלוה, whereas the one living God is יְהוָה, because He is who He is independently of the inclination and will of men. He is not the product of men, not devised by them; this is already contained in this name. And no heathen people has known this name. Schrader[1] has called attention to the fact that the name of Jahavah is not found among any of the heathen Semite nations,[2] while the words אלה, אל, בעל are common to all the Semitic languages.—In spite of all this, however, the modern negative criticism takes great pains over this matter. What is incontestably good in the religion of Israel, its monotheism and high-toned ethical precepts, is regarded as a natural product of the "Semitic mental development;" the Semitic races had in the blood a tendency toward monotheism, just as the Indians had to pantheism. But what in the history of Israel is rightly or wrongly considered base and corrupt is speedily found to have been brought about by their belief in a "wrathful Jehovah," who is pictured as a crude and undeveloped kind of deity. When Jacob deceives Esau and Laban, David commits adultery, etc., this is supposed to prove that a God who had such "favourites" has nothing in common with the God of Christianity, but is to be regarded as a product of thought among a rude people occupying the same rank as the product of thought of the heathen mythology. And when the Hamitic race of the Canaanites, sunken in the corruption of the Baal-worship, is exterminated at Jehovah's command, or when Jehovah is obliged to waken up the conscience of the corrupt and polluted Semitic race of Israel from its lethargy by sharp judgments, these must be taken as proofs of the wrathful and bloodthirsty character of this God, *i.e.* of the Israelitish conception of God! But when it suits their purpose to praise

[1] Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2 vols. London 1885-1887, vol. i. p. 11.

[2] In Palmyra, on a monument of the post-Solomonic time, we meet with the name Jao, evidently, as also Schrader assumes, borrowed from Israel. So, too, had the Chinese philosopher Lao-tse, about B.C. 600, come to know the name Ji-hi-wei through exiled members of the ten tribes; see § 268.

the Jewish race, these critics can glorify it loudly enough by saying that monotheism lay "in the blood" of that people, and that they produced the idea of the unity of God, or that "they have raised themselves to this conception."[1]—This is now very specially the cardinal question in reference to the history of the religion of the Old Covenant: Is Jahavah a product of Israel? or is Israel a product of Jahavah, the living God? With the answer to this stands or falls the fact of redemption under the New Covenant. We must deal more closely with this question, and then also the further question demands an answer: Why God has chosen for the field and sphere of the revelation that was to prepare the way for redemption a nation not the noblest by nature, but rather by nature one of the most corrupt of the races of mankind.

§ 307. *The Semitic Race and the Choice of the Covenant People.*

It was pointed out in § 247 that we cannot speak of three races of men as thoroughly distinct. From the flood down to the scattering of the peoples, a period of a century and a half passed before the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japhet would be obliged to have interchange of marriages with one another. No trace of such interchanges has been found as yet in history. For example, the Hamite race of the Egyptians has in its determined stability and exclusiveness and its monosyllabic speech such remarkable similarity to the Japhetic race, and indeed to the Chinese of Mongolian descent from the family of Magog, that one might suppose that some of the sons of Mizraim had married daughters of Magog, or one of the sons of Magog had married a daughter of Mizraim. An affinity of such a kind might also be assumed between Javan and that son of Madai from whom the Indians are

[1] As though the matter in question was the numerical unity merely, and not rather the qualitative essence of the One! If the God of the Old Testament were actually that "bloodthirsty fury," He were then in spite of the unicity a merely common idol, and the praise of having "produced the idea of monotheism" does not belong to Israel.

sprung. But while the distribution of mankind into three chief races, as the sons of Japhet, Ham, and Shem, must always be taken *cum grano salis*, each of these, notwithstanding the overlapping of its single line determined by affinity upon the second or third chief race, has nevertheless preserved a certain unique set of characteristics. This fundamental character of the three chief races or families may be summarily expressed in a few words. There is no doubt that the sons of Japhet in contrast to the Hamites were endowed with higher intellectual capacity. What the Latins called *ingenium*, the capacity for free intellectual production and movement, we meet with among the Indians and Iranians, the Pelasgians and Latins, the Germans and Celts;[1] even among the Chinese in a high degree, among the old Uigurs in a less degree but one not to be despised, among the Esthonians and the Finns and the Slavs, as well as among the Etruscans, there was a high development of art. The Hamites, on the other hand, if we except the Egyptians and their Phœnician offshoots, give the impression of a thoroughly dull, mentally sluggish race, with an innate tendency to run out into barbarism; while for the rest even in a state of barbarism they show a certain good-natured disposition, an honourable openness and true-heartedness, as we see, *e.g.*, among the Kolhs and in the negroes, breaking forth, too, among the converted negroes sometimes from under the mass of ignorance as a childlike, naive simplicity. The highest intellectual elevation to which a Hamitic tribe has risen is that of the Egyptian civilisation, which, however, in its angularity and one-sidedness can be compared at most to the Chinese, certainly not to the Hellenic, Indian, or German, and results, perhaps, only

[1] In spite of the complaint of Vilmar about the sluggishness of the *ingenium* of the Bretons, it would not be difficult to prove, even apart from the Ossian question, that the Celts were a singularly gifted race in the domain of poetry, and since the time of Iro-Scottish Christian missionaries they have been remarkably fruitful in their contributions to the poetry and music of the Middle Ages. One need only compare, for example, Th. Stephens, *Gesch. der wälischen Literatur*, Halle 1864.

from intermarriage between the children of the Hamite Mizraim and the Japhetic Magog.—If we turn now to the Semites, no one can deny that in respect of mental and spiritual endowments they are as like the Japhetites as these are unlike the Hamites. And yet between the Semites and the Japhetites there is a thoroughgoing difference. There is, almost independently of the relation of God, a purely human nobility, a full development of those natural powers which distinguish man as man, mark him off as a rational being from the brute creation, the harmonious unfolding of which ought on this account to be denominated "humanity." This humanity may coexist with a sinful determination of will and a God-forgetting disposition, *i.e.* it may along with godlessness of heart and life continue for a long time to exist among the people as heir of an earlier God-fearing age. According to its nature, it may be designated a kind of æsthetic and social conscience, a feeling for the distinction of the becoming and the unbecoming, the fair and the hideous, the noble and the base, in one word, a sense of honour, which has become to a people or to a group of peoples a second nature.[1] This noble sentiment of humanity we find now among most of the peoples of Japhetic descent, while it is wholly wanting among the Semites. No Semitic nation possesses a true æsthetic sense. Even the Hebrew muse, although inspired by God, has admittedly much crudeness, and the beauty of the Old

[1] The origin of this honourable æsthetic sense of the becoming in a people can only be directly explained by this, that in a very remote antiquity among the fathers of the race conscience in reference to the relation of man to God continued awake through a large series of generations. In these ancient times such a sense of honour became a second nature to that people, and now survived as a natural characteristic during centuries and even thousands of years, even after the fear of God of earlier days had meanwhile been lost. But nothing is more certain than that when in a nation the last remnants of a religious conscience has been utterly lost (as in the case of polytheism generally), and the frivolity of such ages as that of Euripides and the Augustan writers has taken its place, then that noble character which appears in a sense of æsthetic beauty and of social honour hurries on to a sudden overthrow and extinction.

Testament Psalms and prophetic poetry depends on something quite different from the unfolding of a human sense of beauty. Still more were the Semites, again only something like halfway excluding the Arabs, wanting in the human moral sense of honour. The Semitic huckstering spirit, this dishonourable and shameless quest of gain and selfish ends, and the Semitic insolence of reckless and inconsiderate pride, are vouchers enough for the want of magnanimity of nature and a sense of honour. That there were and are among the Semites individuals of a nobler temper, we would by no means deny. We are only stating here what is the national character.— And from this general characterization we by no means exempt Israel, the people of the Old Covenant. It is a fault that has been transmitted from generation to generation among Christian theologians, especially noticeable in practical religious literature, that the patriarchs and the godly of the Old Testament are represented as saints, or at least as ideals of humanity. Jews they were in their nature and in their national character. Jacob bargains with his twin brother for his birthright privilege, and gets by craft the herds of Laban; Joseph takes advantage of the Egyptians' famine to do a brilliant stroke for Pharaoh; and thus the Semitic characteristics crop up through cracks and crannies in the lives of the most pious and the best.[1] "And such people were the favourites of Jehovah!" exultingly cries out rationalism in coarse homely wisdom. Yes, answer we, just this nation, wanting all natural magnanimity and high sense of honour, has God chosen as the sphere and organ of His revelation, that should prepare the way for

[1] The much spoken of "purloining" (more properly: snatching from, taking by force) of Egyptian articles (Ex. xiv. 35 f.) can scarcely be reckoned under this head. The Egyptians themselves constrained and urged the Israelites (ver. 34), without seeking back their articles. One might say, but just as well might doubt, that the noble-minded Japhetites would nevertheless have left the articles behind, instead of taking them with them in the excitement of the moment. Objectively considered, it was a reward which the Egyptians were obliged unwillingly to pay the Israelites according to the counsel of God for their long service as bondmen.

redemption,—not in spite of but because of its being so mean a race, yea, in its natural form the meanest and most corrupt of all the three. A few words will be enough to explain and establish this. The Japhetites had high mental endowments with that natural nobility of mind, the Semites had great mental endowments without that nobility, and the Hamites were but meanly equipped intellectually. So far it is plain — (1) That the Hamites earliest of all sank into barbarism, and in them sin showed itself as merely savage rudeness without any veil of craft; (2) That among the Japhetites remnants of a conscience and of a knowledge of God was longest retained, and among them that national sense of honour as a relative drag resisted the development of evil; and (3) That among the Semites evil as a combination of shamelessly selfish desire with natural acuteness and mental ability, without any counteracting drag, must have taken the form of essential corruption and pollution, especially when to dishonourable baseness was added shameless pride and self-righteous stubbornness. And now it is directly also easy to understand why God's Son, according to the counsel of His Father, must have assumed flesh and blood from the Semitic race. Not the stupidest, endowed with the slenderest natural capacities, in which sin showed itself in mere savage rudeness, could be the race that should be the vessel and bearer of salvation for the rest of the nations. This, without more ado, is clear. One might rather have supposed the Japhetic family the most suitable. But if the Son of God was to be born the redeemer of a world of sinners, the opposition of lost humanity and the saving God must be sharply and distinctly emphasized. "The people that sat in darkness saw a great light." Not then among those in whom there was an appearance, however fallacious, of a capacity for self-redemption, which was in reality only a relative check upon sin such as kept them in a redeemable condition, but among those in whom the full, deep misery of sin in its most dangerous form had manifested itself, in whom there was no natural check upon this corrup-

tion, upon whom only the acts of the Old Testament revelation of God operated as checks restraining them within the limits of possible redemption, and in whom all goodness present, *e.g.* the piety of those in the land who waited for salvation, a Mary, an Elizabeth, a Simeon, a Nathanael, a Peter, a John, was to be traced back simply to the operations of God and the revelations of God,—among such a people must the Lord become man. And this had to be in order that He might passively endure sin in its most potent form, sin as Semitic corruption (see § 312).

But now we must, in conclusion, call attention to the incontestable fact that our Lord Jesus Christ has in Himself not a fibre of that peculiarly Semitic character. The person of the Lord is distinguished by the highest, freest magnanimity, as is evidenced to us by the record of all the four evangelists. The Son of God became man within the range of a people of the Semitic race; but He became not a Semite, but a man. Whatever can be regarded within the limits of the Japhetic family as the highest ideal of all that is noble in man most harmoniously developed, is in comparison with Him like pale moonlight before the clear shining of the sun. This alone should suffice to prove the truth of this incarnation. Jesus Christ is no product of humanity. The combined powers of a whole series of Semites, together with Thamar (Matt. i. 3) and Jezebel (2 Kings viii. 18 and Matt. i. 8), might have begotten a Semite, but never a Son of man, the second Adam.

§ 308. *God's Educative Procedure in the Patriarchal Age.*

The foolishness of unbelief that thinks itself wise sneers at the God who blesses Jacob, this man of cunning (Gen. xxvii. and xxx., xxviii. and xxxi.), and prefers him to the honest, upright Esau. According to the notion of such, the fruits must be fully formed before even root or tree exists.[1] But

[1] The unbelief of our day, which boasts of its "liberalism," thus undermines the foundation of ethics, the fear of God and conscience, and tears

such modelled mature fruits are not useable, and melt away like butter before the sun. The living and wise God proceeded in a manner quite the contrary of this. "Walk before me," this is the demand which He makes of His servant. Not, walk correctly, walk with a firm step, and without faltering; but "walk before me; thou weak, lame, halting one; thou wilt stumble every moment, but follow me closely with thine eye, continue in my presence, be sincerely ashamed of thy weakness and sinful nature; but fly not from my sight with the foolish, proud thought of hiding from me thy guilt and palliating it; but confess it, and put believing confidence in me who am the holy God, hating thy sin, yet showing tender mercy toward thee." This was the course of God's procedure with Abraham and the rest of the patriarchs. Of the racial defects of the Semites, insolent pride and mean selfishness and love of gain, the pride must first in order be eradicated and overcome by awakening the childlike and humble but firm faith in God; in the God who revealed Himself as the merciful One notwithstanding His holiness, which He showed, *e.g.*, in His treatment of Sodom. This humility and this stedfastness of faith we find among the patriarchs as a first-fruit well matured of the divine education, though exhibited, indeed, in the midst of many evidences of the weaknesses of a child's faith.[1] As an immediately consequent fruit of this we have neighbourly love, which in Abraham shows itself in his friendly yielding to Lot, and in Joseph in the noblest manner as forgiving love. How well must Joseph have understood the innermost depths of the divine pity! He acted toward his brethren in the hardest manner before he

them from the heart, but then complains with sad lamentations that instead of the morality of pantheism "in need of no religious basis," "standing on its own feet" (*i.e.* hanging in the air), we have only naked selfishness (on the one hand, maintenance of privilege and the exciting struggles of the exchange; on the other hand, social democratic covetousness); and instead of the hoped-for modern Buddhist reign of peace, a *bellum omnium contra omnes*.

[1] *E.g.* Gen. xx., xxxii. 7 ff.

made himself known to them in order to bring home to them their guilt and make them confess it; but in the very moment when he makes himself known to them, he imparts to them also the assurance that he has forgiven them!—Similarly, too, does God assume a position toward the other racial defect, the mean huckstering spirit and the low cunning that is by no means passive or indifferent. Jacob deceived his old blind father by a slain kid and a borrowed coat; but the surreptitiously obtained blessing drives its possessor immediately into the unblessed region of homelessness and banishment; in his old age he himself is deceived in the most heartless way by his own sons by means of a coat smeared with the blood of a slaughtered kid (Gen. xxxvii. 31 ff.). By a trick, though indeed in self-defence, he obtained for himself a large portion of Laban's herd; he led them away in anxiety, and soon after felt himself obliged to offer and surrender to Esau a part of his flocks and herds (Gen. xxxii. 13 ff., xxxiii. 11). With genuinely Semitic cunning Joseph took advantage of the need of the Egyptians to effect a clever financial policy for Pharaoh (Gen. xlvii.), but his descendants soon found how easily such cleverness is turned into foolishness when (comp. § 241, *Obs.* 1) the national hatred of the Egyptians against Israel kindled by this very proceeding, and against the fifteenth dynasty connected with Israel, burst out in a flame, overthrew the dynasty, and terribly oppressed Israel as "plunderers of the treasures of the land."—The leadings of divine providence, by means of which Jacob's race are brought to reside in Egypt, had a special purpose in connection with the history of redemption; Abraham's race would thus be preserved from the plague of the Semitic worship of Baal. Once already this plague had come near enough. In the vale of Siddim, which had for twelve years been subject to the Euphrates-Semites (Gen. xiv. 4, comp. § 253), this plague had taken root. There the Lord rooted it out by that judgment of which traces in the geological formations are to be found to this day (see *Obs.*). When, some generations after the overthrow of Sodom,

this pestilence of Baal-worship spread also into Palestine among the Canaanites, Phœnicians, the children of Lot, and the Midianites, the Ishmaelites had already moved southwards into Arabia, remaining true to "the faith of Abraham" (§ 254, *Obs.*). But the Israelites were saved in Egypt from this plague. They were not, however, preserved from the contagion of the relatively harmless Old Egyptian polytheism (§ 241), that symbolizing of the creator of the world, ossified as the soul of the world, invisible but yet unfree, represented in the regular course of the stars and of nature. How deeply the Israelites were influenced and affected by the tendency to such polytheistic nature-symbolism, and specially to symbolizing through animals, is seen from the fact (Ex. xxxii.) that they, after and in spite of all the powerful manifestations of the free, living God, who was the God of their fathers, and had revealed Himself to them as יהוה, yet set up a polytheistic plurality of gods (comp. ver. 1, אלהים) in place of that one God, and wished to symbolize these in the form of animals (the figure of Apis). This inbred tendency to polytheism showed itself in a very marked manner even during the wilderness wanderings, in the worship of the heavenly bodies (Amos v. 26), and later also in animal symbolism (1 Kings xii.). And this is the people, forsooth, that have of themselves produced "the idea of monotheism!" The mass of the people could but after a long time grasp the idea that Jahavah was one God, but only that He was stronger than the gods of the heathen (with Deut. iv. 35 comp. iii. 24 and Num. x. 17 and 2 Chron. ii. 5). And this is the people that were to produce the idea of monotheism! A "Jehovist party" arose and gained a standing among the people long, long after Moses, and this party remodelled the Semitic Baal into a rather more spiritually conceived and not altogether so terrible, but still a tolerably bloodthirsty "Jahveh," craftily introduced Him into the old songs of the people, and set Him forth under Jehovistic titles. And in regard to this grand discovery of wisdom only this small matter is forgotten, that (§ 246)

the proper names which have "Jehovah" in them are already met with in the time of Moses.

The Israelites in Egypt, by reason of their natural Semitic character as a nation, would undoubtedly have forgotten the God of their fathers, and have fallen completely into polytheism, had not the violent hatred of their Egyptian oppressors forcibly compelled them to cry out to their fathers' God. And then did this God reveal Himself in a series of judgments which He sent upon the Egyptians,[1] judgments which found their like in the natural magic practised by the Egyptians, but in the degree and manner in which they are here performed are clearly enough marked out as miracles (§ 134). So, too, an east wind makes it possible for them to pass through the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 21), and nothing prevents us from understanding the words of ver. 22, והמים, להם חומה, as meaning that the waters on right and left of the sandbank laid bare by the wind served as a protection to them from attacks upon their flanks, and not that the waters stood up like the walls of a tower around them, which would have been expressed by והמים כחומות. But should one conclude from this that the miracle can be explained away as a natural occurrence, in which case that east wind would have been merely an event of lucky chance, he should remember that without the admission of a notable miracle the passing of the Jordan (Josh. iii. f.), of which the stone memorials still existed in the time when the story of the occurrence was written (iv. 9, 20), cannot be satisfactorily explained. By manifestations of His omnipotence God graciously unlooses the

[1] When it is said that God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, the meaning of the author is not to discuss the dogmatic question as to the relation of human freedom to the divine decree, but simply to remove the erroneous conception of a people prone to polytheism, as if God somehow were not mighty enough to immediately enforce obedience from Pharaoh. That the opposition of Pharaoh so long continued was not contrary to God's plan and counsel, but operated within limits determined by God's counsel, this and nothing else is here affirmed. The subtler question as to whether God's will here shows itself determining or permissive, does not in the least come into consideration.

entanglements of sin in what is the complication and not the development of man. By means of ever repeated acts He overcame the inbred Semitic tendency to polytheism, and as it were enforced the acknowledgment of Himself.

Obs.—The admitted fact that the surface of the Dead Sea is 1300 feet below that of the Mediterranean has nothing to do with the catastrophe of Sodom. Even the Lake of Gennesareth lies 600 feet below the Mediterranean. The whole Jordan valley is a cleft or fissure which, long before there were men upon the earth, in the beginning of the Tertiary period, was occasioned by a volcanic plutonic eruption, probably in consequence of the explosive nature of the Jebel Kuleib or the mountains of Bashan.—It is quite a different geognostic fact which affords evidence of the overthrow of Sodom. The Dead Sea throughout its greater part, down as far as the peninsula, is of very great depth; the plummet here sounded a depth of 1200 or 1300 feet; from the peninsula to the south end of the lake, however, it is only from 4 to 13 feet deep. It here forms a basin of 10 miles long, and has the appearance of an intersected shallow flooded valley of about the same breadth. The continuation of the valley that is not flooded, only a few feet higher, forms the peninsula, and this has under its surface rich beds of asphalt, just as is said in Gen. xiv. 10 of the whole range of the valley. Close to the sea on the west side stands Jebel Usdum, 500 feet high, 2½ leagues long, composed entirely of rock-salt covered with a thin layer of chalk and clay, which forms a steep background of bare rock-salt over against the Dead Sea. The English naval officer Van de Velde (*Journey through Sinai and Palestine*, 2 vols. Edin. 1854), to whom we are indebted for these detailed geognostic observations, explains the origin of these geognostic geographical peculiarities by the simple assumption that the southern quarter of the lake was land at an earlier period, that a flash of lightning kindled the layer of asphalt lying under the surface, and probably here and there existing to this day or intentionally laid bare by the hand of man; that this burned on underground, destroying by its heat the cities situated above it; that in consequence of this conflagration the crust of the earth sank from 10 to 20 feet therefore below the level of the lake, and so was flooded by it to a slight depth; and finally, that in consequence of the heat, the crust of clay of the Jebel Usdum overlooking the east side burst into flame, and with part of the rock-salt fell into the lake and thus gave it its saltness, which now also every rush of rain which washes down the naked walls and gorges of the salt mountain increases.—That גפרית ואש, falling from

heaven, in Gen. xix. 24, can be understood of a kindling flash of lightning, admits of no doubt. If we are to think of actual burning brimstone, the effects would evidently be the same as from the lightning.

§ 309. *The Law and the Ordinance of Sacrifice.*

We pursue no farther the series of these particular facts, but turn now to the giving of the law. No unprejudiced person can deny that in post-Mosaic times particular additions as well as several historical elucidations were added by way of supplement (*e.g.* Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7, xxxvi. 31; Num. xxxv. 14; Deut. iii. 14). The groundwork of the law, however, and that in a far higher degree than the Vendidad (§ 208), is derived from one source, and from the time of Moses. This groundwork falls into three parts, which may even be externally distinguished. The "law" (עדות), Ex. xx., contains the eternal requirements made by God of His people, requirements which are only an exposition of the requirements which conscience makes of every man; hence then the decalogue can maintain its place in Christianity as the expression of the ethical law for all the nations of the earth. For it covers the whole ground of the ethical law as such. To worship the living God alone as God, to worship Him as the invisible, as a spirit, not by images, to treat His holy name as holy, and not to drag it down into the service of sin through passion or superstition, to withdraw a set portion of one's lifetime from the pursuit of earthly business and devote it to the concerns of the soul's salvation in the exercises of worship and the service of God, to honour parents as the representatives of God (comp. § 124), to respect the life, the marriage ties, and the property of our neighbours, to speak the truth, and finally, to acknowledge our sin and put away from us even the secret desire for what is not our own,—these are the groundworks of a true system of morals basing itself upon God and the fear of God. In regard to marriage, polygamy was still in practice tolerated, because God will not have the fruits before the root. This law was not to change

the sinner into a sinless man, but was to produce the consciousness of sin (*usus elenchticus*), and to construct a solid wall of wholesome discipline to resist its further inroads. The second part of the law: משפטים (Ex. xxi., xxii.), affords an outline of judicial procedure, of social and civil order, and for this very reason has had significance only for Israel as a nation peculiar in respect of its civil constitution. Specially worthy of notice is the injunction to love enemies, Ex. xxiii. 4; comp. Num. xix. 17.—The third part: חקות (Ex. xxv.–xxxi., and Lev. i.–viii. and xi. ff.), gives detailed directions concerning divine worship. God made a covenant with Israel, ברית, promising His grace, demanding the fulfilment of His law. But a nation of sinful men fulfils not this requirement, and cannot fulfil it; Israel still, even as at the beginning (Ex. xxxii.), breaks the covenant, and proves itself a stiff-necked people (vv. 9, 10). Thus the decalogue becomes an accusing witness against the nation. It deserves only overthrow; but God for the sake of His own honour, the honour of His covenant faithfulness (ver. 1 ff.), shows Himself merciful to His people. The accusing witness will be concealed with a covering (כפרת), and the covering is to be sprinkled with the blood of an ox slain as a substitutionary sin-offering (Lev. xvi.), in order that the eye of the Lord may fall, not on the accusing witness, but on the consummated atonement. The whole ritual, with all its other offerings, is organically grouped around this central act performed yearly by the high priest. The sprinkling of blood on the lid of the ark in the holiest of all, symbolized the maintenance of the covenant by a continual new atonement for the continual new breaches of the covenant of the people. In the holy place the relatively incomplete fulfilment of the law was set forth under symbol by the daily presentation of the fruit of the land, bread and oil, and the worship of God by the presenting of incense to Him on the altar of incense at the entering in of the holiest of all. In the holiest of all the living God manifested, not His creative omnipresence, but specifically His gracious nearness growing out of His covenant with

Israel in the light-gleam of the Shechinah; but the holiest of all was unapproachable and shut; the sacrificial worship only secured that God cared for His people, went not into judgment with their sins, but continued to exercise further patience; not, however, that the guilt of sin which stood between Him and His people as a wall of partition was fully atoned for (πάρεσις, not ἄφεσις, comp. Rom. iii. 25). This points significantly enough to the need of a future more perfect atonement (comp. Heb. ix.).

In regard to two points we must here enter on a closer examination.

A. The whole ritual is founded on the assumption of the sinfulness and guilt of Israel, and the whole history of the exodus and the wilderness journey has to tell of nothing else than the unusual stiff-neckedness and depravity of the people, not of their merits, excellences, and virtues, but only of the wonderful long-suffering of the holy God. That is a phenomenon which we do not meet with in the history of the religion of any other nation. The heathen nations (comp. Book First) represent themselves in the best light; here and there on account of particular sins their gods are angered, and they seek by means of sacrifices of various kinds to pacify them. To a sad extent they have lost the idea of sin and guilt and the conception of an avenging God, and know only of capricious evil powers or beings from a necessity of their nature injurious, whose blind rage they seek to avert by sacrifice. But the peoples as such are always and everywhere full of their own praises and the glorification of themselves. The Moabite king Mesha describes himself as on the best understanding with his god Chemosh; he has built him a temple, and therefore looks to him for a brilliant victory. This tone prevails in the inscription of Darius at Bagastâna or Behistun, and in the other Achamædian inscriptions. The case is similar, too, with regard to the Greeks, the Romans, the Indians, the Mongols, and the Chinese. And a people so characterized by insolent pride as the Israelites were, possesses now as the oldest

literary monument and the earliest book of laws a treatise in which mention is only made of the wickedness and depravity of the people, in which the whole ritual is built up upon the assumption of the sinfulness and guilt of the people, in which is found nothing else in praise of the people than that God, the holy and living God, revealed Himself to them, and has shown His patience in dealing with them. And this book, which gives such a slap in the face to all their pride and national self-esteem, is to be regarded as a product of the national spirit of the people! If a national enemy of Israel had turned his attention to wounding Israel's pride in its most tender point, he could have written nothing more cutting than this history of the exodus. But as this Torah was not written by a member of a hostile nation, but by an Israelite, in the language of the Israelites, it can have the ground of its origin only in the revelation of a divine friend, *i.e.* of a friendly God, who in His grace roused up a member of that race, so sunken naturally in corruption, from the sleep of conscience, that root of hardening and unredeemable depravity, again and again unweariedly shaking them up with powerful disciplinary words and acts of God, and kept awake the awakened consciousness of sin by means of the ordinance of sacrifice.

B. This sacrificial worship embraced in its deep symbolism the truth whose caricatures are seen in the various heathen religions. Even the first men had brought their sacrifices. The idea of sacrifice was given in the very consciousness of guilt. In the Book of Genesis there is no word to the effect that God ordained and recommended sacrifice.[1] Man quite naturally came upon the idea himself. The consciousness of being behindhand in the discharge of duty, of that which he was bound to

[1] When God, appearing in human form (Gen. iii. 21), gives to man clothing of skins of beasts as a covering of their nakedness, the act of the slaying of those beasts is not there indeed once mentioned, and therefore comes into consideration only as a means for supplying clothing, not as a sacrificial act. All the less is the latter reference possible from the fact that God Himself slew the animals, and would in that case have presented the sacrifice to Himself.

do, led to the idea of making good the deficiency, *i.e.* of a sufficient satisfaction. For the performance of the duty which man has left unperformed, another performance which he is not obliged to do, the voluntary surrender of some good thing, looks like the payment of an equivalent. This idea seems to have lain at the basis of the first sacrifices (Gen. iv. 3 f.). But conscience could not be thereby pacified. Conscience said to man that he not merely left good undone, but had willed and done evil, and by his sin had deserved punishment. This led to the idea of a personal substitution. Instead of the person who is amenable to punishment, another being may suffer the death due by reason of sin, and the slain victim should blaze up in flames before God, whom man involuntarily thinks of as in the distant heavens ruling over the earth. This was the notion underlying the burnt-offering (*e.g.* Gen. viii. 20), and the equivalent substitution, the surrender of some possession or something treasured, was likewise present and emphasized therein. But even these sacrifices sufficed not to bring peace to the conscience. Can an animal make an appearance for a man? Would it not be proper that a man, and that a very dear and much loved man, even the offerer's own son, should be presented unto God? This was not proper, in the first place, because every man by his own sin was under the doom of death, so that he could not atone for the sin of another; and secondly, because a man, even one's own son, is not the property of the offerer, but the property of God, and therefore as little suited for essential substitution as for personal. It was not proper, yet one can understand how men hit upon the idea. And thus have we, even among noble Japhetic nations, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, significant traces of human sacrifices having been made in very early times, apart altogether from the savage practice in later times of slaughtering prisoners of war in honour of the war-god. These noble human sacrifices are quite essentially distinguished from the horrible Moloch sacrifices of the Euphrates-Semites, which had not in the remotest degree any reference to the consciousness

of guilt and the idea of an essential and personal substitution, but were presented to the deity of the blind process of nature, which produced and then again destroyed its own production, bereft altogether of any moral notion. The Israelites may be considered as from the first preserved from the error of the more nobly conceived human sacrifices. This occurred through the incident recorded in Gen. xxii. God demanded for a burnt-offering Abraham's son, whom he had given Him by a miracle (Gen. xviii. 11), and on whom the promise rested (Gen. xvii. 19). Firmly believing that God could not be unfaithful to His promise, and so restore the victim again to life (Rom. iv. 17; Heb. xi. 19), he prepared himself to obey; but God substituted an animal for Isaac. Since, then, God had Himself declared that He preferred an animal sacrifice, every doubt as to whether God would be satisfied with an animal sacrifice was dispelled. And then afterward in the law at Sinai, God ordained animal sacrifice, and expressly forbade human sacrifice (Lev. xviii. 21).

§ 310. *The Period of the Judges.*

When the Israelites entered Palestine, the plague of the Baal-worship had laid hold upon the Canaanites, and the product of Semitic corruption had called into existence on the neighbouring territory of Hamitic barbarism a form of religion like that which we have already seen to be current among the Phœnicians (§ 251), and in Palestine exhibitions possibly were met with of a yet more horrible kind (Num. xxv. 1 ff.; comp. the command, Deut. xxiii. 18; further, 1 Kings xiv. 24, xv. 12, xxii. 47; 2 Kings xxiii. 7; also Judg. ii, 17, etc., where זנה אחרי is wrongly taken symbolically, but rather just means the *πορνεία*-service of Ashera). The animal vice of whoredom was regarded as service to the deity; on all hills and under all trees (2 Kings xvi. 4, xvii. 10; Jer. ii. 20; Ezek. vi. 13, xx. 28) stood pillars and images of Ashera (Judg. iii. 7; 1 Kings xiv. 23), where that vile worship was

practised. The Canaanites were foul to the very marrow and ripe for judgment, and Israel was not to be infected by the plague; hence the righteous and gracious command of the holy God that the Canaanites should be utterly destroyed. We call this command a gracious one. Rationalistic sentimentality[1] has regarded it as hard and cruel; but the individuals of the generation that perished through the *charem* had in any case once to die, and that this generation should have no descendants of a still blacker die was grace, or rather, would have been grace had only Israel obeyed, and consistently and completely fulfilled the command. But the Semitic nature fell lusting after the lusts of the Baal-worship (Num. xxv.), stopped short in the execution of the divine injunction, allowed (Judg. i. 21 ff.) a portion, by no means small, of the Canaanite inhabitants to escape, and were tempted by them to engage in the worship of Baal (Judg. ii. 17, iii. 7, x. 6, etc.; comp. chap. vi. 28). Then God gave them up for chastisement to the tyranny of their neighbours, the Philistines, the Ammonites, the Midianites, the Moabites, etc., till in their need they cried to the Lord, and He revealed Himself to them, and called individuals (*e.g.* Judg. iv. 4–8, vi. 8, and xi. ff.), and endowed them with courage, wisdom, and power to free the subject people and restore the worship of Jahavah. The tabernacle with its high priest and sacrificial worship (1 Sam. i. 3) and series of festivals (Judg. xxi. 19) continued to exist throughout the period of trouble and decay, and was regarded as a safe retreat by that portion of the people which had not yielded to seduction, or had under the influence of the divine chastisements returned again to the service of God (1 Sam. iv. 3). But that in that period of oppression and confusion the precepts of the Torah should have been preserved only in an imperfect and fragmentary form is what might have been expected, and it is mere folly to draw from the deviations in the ordinary form

[1] Samuel was entirely free from such sentimentality, Saul was not (1 Sam. xv. 8 and 33).

of the law during the period of the Judges the conclusion that the law did not as then at all exist. Many of these deviations are, indeed, only in appearance. The Baal-worship on the high places (Judg. iii. 7, etc.) is in conflict with the prohibition of any other places for sacrifice than the door of the tabernacle (Lev. xvii.; Deut. xii.), or when Gideon in Ophra by the setting up of a golden ephod gave occasion to image-worship (Judg. viii. 27), or Micah engaged in idolatrous practices (Judg. xvii. 4),—but there is no such conflict when God as מלאך יהוה appears visibly, and an offering is then brought to Him (Judg. ii. 5, vi. 24, xiii. 16); for the latter is required and approved by an angel of the Lord Himself (Judg. xiii. 16), and not on its own account, but on account of the God present in the holiest of all over the ark of the covenant was the tabernacle the appointed place of sacrifice. When, moreover, the ark of the Lord was carried in war to Bethel (Judg. xx. 27), and before it an altar was raised and a sacrifice presented (Judg. xxi. 4), this is quite in keeping with what we have in Lev. xvii. It was not on account of the tabernacle that the ark of the covenant existed, but on account of this ark of the covenant was the tabernacle the legitimate place for sacrifice. When Samuel (1 Sam. ix. 12), at his residence in Ramah in the land of Zuph (south of Bethlehem, comp. 1 Sam. x. 2), presented a sacrifice to God on a high place, the offering seems in this case to have been occasioned by the preceding theophany (ix. 5). In ver. 12 it is expressly said, "For the people have a sacrifice to-day." But it is mere silliness from these passages to think to draw the conclusion that the God originally, and still during the period of the Judges, worshipped in Israel was no other than the Semitic Baal, or at least some sort of Baal (see *Obs.*), and that He was then usually worshipped on high places, and that first in later times was Jehovism introduced along with the law that Jehovah should be worshipped only in the tabernacle, whereas the whole history of the period of the Judges from first to last is taken up with an account of the vigorous antagonism of the worship of the self-revealing

Jehovah and the service of Baal.—The moral condition of the people during this rough, wild age showed more of a retrogression than a progression, quite as might be expected, seeing that this whole period as such was one of great falling off on the part of the people of the fear of God (Judg. ii.). The Lord must again begin from the first to heal and strengthen the damaged root that threatened the very seat of life, so that in future times blossoms and fruits might be developed. We find individual ethically beautiful traits in Deborah, Barak, Gideon; in Jephthah and Samson, again, the moral element falls into the background. God has been obliged to be satisfied with fitting out these men by miraculous endowments of His Spirit so as to make them, as it were, involuntary and blind instruments for His particular operations which they had to perform for God's purposes on others and for others, without having been themselves men renewed in heart and spirit. They were servants of God, not children;[1] servants who acknowledged the one living and true God, and faithfully (faithfully in a relative sense, Judg. viii. 27) rendered Him service, and continued to avoid and abhor the worship of Baal. In the struggle between the service of God and the service of Baal, they attached themselves to the party of God, and this negative attitude was for the time enough. The garden must be saved from the rushing flood which could destroy it utterly, and would have turned it into a poisonous swamp. The rooting out of weeds from within the garden was a work that must be left for later times. With every decline in the worship of the true God there was a corresponding decline in public morals; conscience could not wholly fall asleep. When Samson (Judg. xvi. 1, 4) entered into relations with a Philistine harlot, we see the sinful

[1] We cannot, indeed, speak of children of God in the strict sense in the Old Covenant. One becomes a child of God first when born again of Christ. He gives the power to become sons of God (John i. 12). But a germ of the child-consciousness was already possible even under the Old Covenant, namely, to those whose believing knowledge and trust were directed to the future salvation promised (Isa. lxiv. 16; Heb. xi. 13-16).

rudeness of fleshly lust; but there is a heaven-wide difference between the sinful coarseness and the corruption of the Baal-worshippers, which made whoredom a part of divine worship. And far above Samson stand his parents, also Jephthah (Judg. xi. 34 f.) and Gideon.

Obs.—In Jephthah's history some find a hint that among the Israelites whoredom belonged to the service of their national god, as it belonged to the Baal-worship of the Canaanites and heathen Semites. Jephthah, when he could not offer his daughter as a burnt-offering, gave her as a temple attendant to the service of the god for the said purpose. Hence the maiden bewailed the loss of her virginity for two months. The words, Judg. xi. 39: והיא לא ידעה איש, are then used in reference to the past. But this rendering is as senseless as possible. If the idea of the national god of Israel was similar to that of Baal, nothing would have prevented Jephthah from burning his daughter in honour of this god, since such offerings by fire were certainly proper to the Baal-worship (comp. Lev. xviii. 21; Deut. xviii. 10); and if he avoided doing this from paternal tenderness, then it would not have been said in ver. 39, ויעש לה את־נדרו, but it ought to have explained that, and why he left his vow unfulfilled, and what he substituted in its place. Further, if it is regarded as an act of divine worship to surrender oneself as a temple attendant, it is not conceivable how the maiden should bewail the loss of her virginity; not amid lamentation, but amid wild demoniac exultation did the female devotees of Baal and Bilit give themselves up to dishonour. That explanation is based upon two assumptions which are mutually exclusive: that prostitution had been introduced as an act well-pleasing to the gods, and that in reference to it there existed a fine moral feeling, and that it was considered a misfortune and dire calamity. Finally, the observation: "she knew no man," seems on that assumption quite vain, since in the Baal-worship married women as well as virgins gave themselves up to such practice in the temples.—The idea that Jephthah actually slew his daughter as עולה is golden as compared with that vile interpretation. She bewailed then "her virginity," *i.e.* not the loss of it, of which there is no mention at all, but that she must die a virgin, in accordance with which her not having known a man is quite a reasonable expression. It is well known that among the Israelites marriage and the blessing of children seemed the highest good, and barrenness the greatest misfortune.—And yet even this explanation is not tenable. The Book of Judges is written for readers, all of whom it is admitted would assume that (Lev. xviii. 21) Jehovah would

have no human sacrifices made to Him, specially not of children by their parents, and above all not as burnt-sacrifices. It is clear that the first half of the vow must have been fulfilled upon the maiden, and what is implied when a man is spoken of as being the Lord's is already clear from Judg. xiii. 5 and 1 Sam. i. 11. But, further, the author writes quite expressly (Judg. xi. 39): he did with her according to his vow which he had vowed, and she knew no man. (The preterite serves here to render the negative judgment absolute; the future with *vau conversive* would not have suited here.) This shows how the first part of the vow is to be understood. How the second half of the vow must have been fulfilled, is most clearly laid down in Lev. xxvii. 1–7. Whoever had vowed a man to God as a burnt-offering, he dared not actually slay and burn him (comp. Deut. xii. 31, also the horror of the Israelites on seeing such a sight, 2 Kings iii. 27), but must have him valued by the priests in order that he may buy with the valuation price an animal to offer, and slay and burn this. (Comp. Köhler, *Lehrb. der bibl. Gesch. a. T.* p. 100 ff.)—So then Jephthah's daughter spends her lifetime as a virgin in maidenly service in the tabernacle, and this devotement to an unmarried life she bewails. Such maidens of the sanctuary are spoken of in 1 Sam. ii. 22; and that their tasks were not those of the temple attendants of Baal follows from this passage, where it is regarded as an unpardonable sin against the Lord that Eli's sons had intercourse with them, which, according to that, would have been very well pleasing to Baal, and would have been regarded as an act honouring to Baal. How unworthy it is to rend from their connection isolated points in a story and to twist it into its own very opposite, so that it stands in contradiction to the rest of the narrative, and then to represent those distorted features as the historical germ, and all the rest as a later mythical and evidently forged addition!

§ 311. *The Period of the Kings and the Prophets.*

After Israel, under Samuel and Saul, had definitely thrown off the yoke of the neighbouring nations, there was under David a flourishing and powerful State, in which the worship of the living God and the performance of the law were fully carried ont. Thus the brilliant period of David's reign became an actual prophecy of the New Testament kingdom of God, but still only a prophecy and not the fulfilment. As yet the divine act of redemption had not taken place; the law awoke,

the sacrificial worship quieted conscience for the time being; but the real atonement for the guilt of sin was not yet accomplished, and so the curse of sin was not yet broken. David himself, in whom already rich fruits of moral holiness had ripened (*e.g.* 2 Sam. iii. 33, xvi. 10, xviii. 33), fell into a terrible double deadly sin (2 Sam. xi.), which God brought home to him by means of sore chastisement, and of which David sincerely repented. Had the people, like him, yielded themselves under the hand of God, there had then been an advance in the spiritual condition of Israel. But there actually was a decline. The Semitic tendency to naturalism made itself conspicuous in Solomon, who at the end of a life full of wisdom and glory allowed himself to be led away by his wives to the worship of Baal and Moloch. In consequence of this, the plague of the most corrupt paganism was planted down in the midst of Israel, and thus was laid the germ of utter desolation. The division of the kingdom followed as a divine judgment. The whole period that followed, down to the exile, was a time of extraordinary declension. In the kingdom of the twelve tribes the deterioration proceeded from the politic image-worship of Jeroboam to the Bâal-worship of Jezebel, and Jehu's reformation was only half-hearted, and therefore, from its very nature, without lasting significance. In the kingdom of Judah the sins of Solomon were continued, with short periods of fluctuation (1 Kings xiv. 23 f., xv. 3; comp. with xi. 11); by means of affinity with Ahab's house it became worse and worse. Israel's inbred naturalism as a Semitic characteristic was seen conspicuously in the specifically Semitic pantheistic foul nature-worship of the religion of Baal, and the consequent departure from God. On the other hand, there are acts of the living God which snatched the people from the threatened danger of utter declension into the most corrupt forms of paganism. During the most critical period, that of Jezebel, prophecy makes its appearance as, in this form, a new instrument in the hands of God. It starts with the heroic figure of Elijah. The living God reveals Himself as

the living, free, almighty, over against the deity of the unbending course of nature conceived of by men (2 Kings xviii.). Elijah at God's command executes against the priests of Baal that same righteous and necessary judgment, one also in accordance with law (Lev. xvii. 2 ff.), which Joshua had formerly been compelled to carry out upon the Canaanites. But he must experience and learn that judgment and the fulfilment of law do indeed set limits to corruption, but cannot break the evil, sinful will (2 Kings xix.), and that the Lord Himself is not in the judgments of the Lord, but in the still small voice of His Spirit. The whole of the prophecy of all subsequent prophets is only a development of this one truth, is a pointing on of law to the future salvation of redeeming grace. As Elijah in acts, so they in words, had to punish the sins of the people, to set forth the innermost meaning and the innermost demands of the law, but above all, to point away from the provisional ritual of expiation through sacrificial worship to the need and the promise of a real redemption, from the sign to the thing signified. Hence, while they prophesy of future judgments, they promise salvation and redemption. Joel, in the closest spiritual relationship with 2 Kings xix. 11–13, prophesies that God, while visiting all the nations with judgment, will pause till He had poured out His Spirit on His people, and had given it spiritual renewal; therefore a gracious healing operation of God should precede the judgment, fitting them for undergoing the judgment. Amos makes known that Israel has no reason to look forward with delight to the judgment day of Jehovah, as though it were that people described in Joel iv. 2; even Israel could not endure the judgment of God (Amos v. 18 ff.), and yet a judgment of God against her is at hand, especially subjection under the Gentile and exile (Amos vii.–ix.); only if thereby she is brought to repentance will God raise up again the tabernacle of David that is fallen. Hosea carries out this prophecy to further development; the kingdom of the ten tribes will be carried away to the river Euphrates in

Assyria. When under Ahaz, even in Judah, rebellion gained the mastery, which Hezekiah was able only temporarily to turn aside, Micah pronounced the threat of exile against Judah, but prophesied also that after the chastisement of exile had been suffered, Zion, as the abode of the word of the Lord, would become the meeting-place of the nations, whither they should turn in order to be converted to the true God (Micah iv. 1–5): "And thou, O tower of the flock (where the first David first tended his flock), O hill! the daughter of Zion shall come unto thee (to meet there the second David), and the former dominion shall come, the kingdom of the daughter of Jerusalem" (iv. 8); then, v. 1: Out of Bethlehem shall go forth the future ruler and king, He, that is to say, whose goings forth have been from of old, yea, from everlasting, as Jehovah, before ever His people had gone out of Egypt; and yet in ver. 3 he is distinguished from Jehovah, and described as a man. Contemporarily with Micah, Isaiah prophesied the birth of a human child, to be called and to be God, אל־גבור, and to reign eternally on the throne of David. Before this virgin's child[1] is born the land was to become desolate, and to be subject to the Assyrians, so that only pasturage and forests with wild honey should remain in it (vii. 15–25). Hence, first exile, then, but still during the time of need consequent

[1] Rationalism has made the discovery that עלמה means, not the *virgo intacta*, but a grown maiden as marriageable. Some have derived the word from the Arab. *ghalama*, "to be marriageable." But in the Hebr. עלם means *celare*, and עלמה is connected with עלם, *celare*, just as בתולה with בתל, *segregare*, and in all places where the עלמה is met with it is virgin that is intended (*virgines intactæ*); and this meaning suits the context (Gen. xxiv. 43; Ex. ii. 8; Prov. xxx. 19, where not a grown young woman, in contrast to the *parva puella*, but the bride on the bridal night; and Song of Songs i. 3 and 8). When He who already from of old had gone forth before His people (Micah v. 1), the אל־גבור, whose own the land and people already are (Isa viii. 8, 10), should be born as the future Saviour (Isa. ix. 5-7), and indeed as the Branch (Isa. xi. 1) promised to David by Nathan (2 Sam. vii.), it followed from these premisses, so becoming in themselves, and so strongly confirmed by the Holy Spirit in the prophet, that the מעולם cannot be being first begotten of a father, but only entering into the womb of a mother. Comp. § 138 in vol. i. p. 334.

upon the exile, the birth of Immanuel. That the child of Isaiah, Maher-shalal-hash-baz (viii. 1), was not the Immanuel prophesied, but a typical foreshadowing of Him, and indeed first of all a warning of the immediately approaching overthrow of Samaria, ver. 4, is quite evident. This child was even born before the beginning of the exile.—But as each successive stage of the prophecy is organically developed out of the preceding under the control of the Holy Spirit in the prophet, so also was this Messianic prophecy of Micah and Isaiah only the organic unfolding of that which Nathan had declared to David in 2 Sam. viii. It was not David that was to build a house to the Lord, but the Lord that was to build a house to the seed of David, and this seed should reign for ever. David himself immediately acknowledged that this promise given to his seed, *i.e.* his descendants, could find its fulfilment (Ps. ii. and Ps. cx.), not in a multitude, but only in one individual in "the estate of a man of the high degree of Jehovah, of God" (1 Chron. xvii. 17); but Solomon understood and confessed (1 Kings viii. 25 ff.) that he was not this promised seed of David. Therewith was given the germ and groundwork of the hope and promise and expectation of a branch of David who should be a man of equal rank with Jehovah.—When the Babylonian empire arose on the ruins of the declining Assyrian empire, it was further revealed to Isaiah that the kingdom of Judah, preserved by God from the power of Assyria for the sake of Hezekiah's faithfulness, should be carried away into exile by the hand of Babylon (Isa. xxxix. and xiii. and xiv.). Closely connected with the indolent resignation wherewith Hezekiah (xxxix. 8) receives this announcement, is the great prophecy of the SERVANT OF GOD in Isa. xl.–lxvi., expressed in terms thoroughly in keeping with the Palestinian views of nature, and consequently not first originated during the exile in Babylon. In respect of calling, Israel is the servant of God among the Gentile nations and for them (xliii. 1, xlii. 6, xliv. 1 and 21), who in this service has to endure the hatred of the heathen; but Israel is herself

blind (xlii. 19), and has fallen away from God to heathen idols (xliii. 22 ff., xlviii. 1–8, etc.), and suffering therefore her many troubles as righteous judgments (xlii. 24). Therefore God needed first again a servant who should bring Israel again to Him (xlix. 5), and, ver. 6, through Israel also the Gentiles. But not even Isaiah is this servant; he has spent his strength for his people for nought, ver. 4. He points to a servant of God of the future, by whom the people shall be comforted after their exilian distress (xlix. 13; comp. xl. 1), and should be delivered out of this and all other distress. But as in chap. xxiv. the prophetic view of the joyous return from the exile (vv. 14–16) is suddenly interrupted by the view of a new misdeed and new chastisements (vv. 16–20), he was by a process of analogy thinking himself into the position of the servant-prophet of the future, that he too will suffer opposition, reproach, yea, even death (l. 5 ff.); the call to Israel to repent remains unheeded (li.); the joyful shout, Thy God reigneth (lii. 7), awakens no enthusiasm; they take offence at his lowly form, and despise and reject him (liii. 1–3). And just for this reason, that in his guiltless sufferings and death he bore the guilt (עון, ver. 6) and the punishment (מוסר, ver. 5) of our sins patiently as a lamb, he fulfils the Father's decree of redemption, he constitutes the true sin-offering (אשם, ver. 10). In this way he breaks the curse of sin; there now comes to him a great people (liv. ff.) from the Gentiles (liv. 3, lv. 5), but a part of Israel still continues hardened (lvii.), until finally, through God's sharp discipline (lxv. 13, etc.), they are brought to cry to the Lord (lxiv.); those who remain hardened against the redeeming grace of God fall under eternal condemnation (lxvi. 24).—The essential part of this prophecy was repeated and further developed during succeeding ages (Jer. xxiii. 29 ff., xxxiii.; Ezek. xviii., xxxiii. f.; Zeph. iii.; Hag. ii.; Zech. viii. ff.).—The exile began. What had happened on a small scale in the times of the Judges happened on a large scale now; the people who had once and again forsaken their Lord, and had gone a-whoring after the service

of Baal, were obliged, now in the cradle of this Baal-worship in Babylon, to groan for more than two generations under the cruel and harsh oppression of the worshippers of Baal. Here they were thoroughly cured of their love for Baal. It must have been a moment for Israel of great relief when the naturally noble Japhetic race of the Iranians, with their acknowledgment of one holy Creator of the world, restored to them by Zarathustra, overthrew the Babylonian empire. Cyrus (Iranian Kurush), already foretold of God by Isaiah, allowed the return of the banished; but already had God through Daniel[1] declared that notwithstanding the return to Palestine from the seventy years' exile, foretold in Jer. xxv., the entire period of the subjection of Israel under heathen monarchs would be extended to seventy times seven years, until the redemption and reconciliation (ix. 24) should come. What Isaiah had seen perspectively as contemporaneous—the return from exile and the appearance of redemption—now are seen to be entirely apart.—If Daniel foresees and foretells special occurrences (chap. xi.; comp. also Ezek. xxiv. 1, the vision in the distance, and Jer. l. f.), a gift is here placed at the service of the Holy Spirit, which, even in the secular life, is here and there met with under the name of second sight. The prophetic gift of the prophet in the service and spirit of the living God is related to the soothsaying stoutly forbidden in the Old Testament law, the miraculous gift of the prophet to the heathen sorcery, just as the God-enjoined sacrificial worship of Israel is to the sacrifices of the heathens, that is, as truth to its distortion and caricature.

Obs.—Anything more crude, destitute of truth, and utterly absurd cannot be written than that which D. Fr. Strauss (*Leb.*

[1] To push this Daniel away down into the Maccabean age is an unhappy attempt. How could that Maccabean age, with its narrow-hearted, fanatical hatred of the Gentiles and characteristic Semitic arrogance, have conceived of such a figure as that Daniel who, while firm as a rock in his fidelity to his God, exhibited at the same time the most wonderful large-heartedness toward the Gentile ruler (*e.g.* Dan. iv. 16) and toward the forms of the Magian learning?

Jesu f. d. deutsche Volk, p. 168) has written: "Little trace is to be found of that special treasure which Israel had been promised by her Jehovah, seeing that with short interruptions there was scarcely ever a people more held down than the chosen people of the Jewish race. This, indeed, the priests and prophets of the one God represent as chastisement for the people's disobedience, whereas the people might excuse their unwillingness to serve such a God by citing the non-appearance of the special treasure which they had been led by him to expect." —Where, then, was the people of Israel led to expect a special treasure apart altogether from any condition? Let him read Lev. xxvi., Deut. xi. 26. So long as the people under Joshua, under Samuel, under David, and in the beginning of Solomon's reign, feared God, they conquered everywhere. The pious Hezekiah was delivered from Sennacherib. So often as the people rebelled against God they were chastised. And now this unhappy man affirms that the prophets had described strokes of misfortune only as "penal judgments," and rebellion against Jehovah is the righteous return for his breaking of his word! Thus with his unwashed fingers does he catch a history of Israel with its head placed downwards. This is the same D. Fr. Strauss whom I already, before his removal from this world, publicly, in my *Gospel History*, charged with being guilty of falsifying a quotation from a Church Father (Tertull. *de bapt.* 15), and who found it convenient to remain lying under the reproach, and never to answer a single word. It would have cost him some trouble to find anything to reply! Tertullian and likewise Jerome (*Catal.* 77) relate that a presbyter of Asia Minor in the second century composed a legend of Paul and Thecla, also called πράξεις Παύλου, in such a form as if Paul himself were the author, and that this presbyter had consequently been deposed, notwithstanding his excuse *id se amore Pauli fecisse.* Hence it follows that the Church of the second century could not endure the forging of spurious writings, and acted very decidedly in reference to the matter. D. Fr. Strauss, in order to make the German people believe the opposite, cited the beginning of that passage, but left out the words that spoke of punishment by deposition, and added to it the fabricated statement that the Church had "kept in use" that very writing (whereas, according to Euseb. iii. 25, it had rather reckoned it among the νόθοις), and, "on the ground of this, had celebrated a feast to that same saint" (in the Middle Ages, but not in the second century), and proved to "the German people," on the ground of those three fabrications and lies, that critical admission of ungenuine writings had been the order of the day in the pre-Constantine age! This surely is an admirable man to be recommended by a teacher of the German people as a pattern!

§ 312. *The Divine Act of Redemption.*

Malachi, the last of the Old Testament prophets, had prophesied that there would be no further revelation of God until the final manifestation of Jehovah Himself coming to His temple accompanied by an *alter Elias*. And so it was. Cured of their idolatrous tendencies, the people were left to themselves and to their outward and inward distress, until during the period of Roman supremacy the divine act of redemption was wrought. Wherein this divine act of redemption in Christ consisted has been already shown in the First Part, § 138 (see vol. i. p. 334). The climax of this Second Part is identical with that of the First as the corner-stone of the whole. The indistinct glimmering desire of the heathen world, and the unquieted, because only symbolically and figuratively quieted, desire of the people of Israel has found in the incarnate Son of God their real and absolute satisfaction. A sinless holy man was given,[1] of purely human development, yet one in will and being with the Father, holy in the form of human self-determination, who by reason of the voluntary act of His incarnation had placed Himself under the natural consequences of sin, natural amenability to death, and therewith to natural suffering, § 129 ff., and who, by reason of His constant self-determination to that which is good (John iv. 34), which allowed Him not to connive in the least with lies and sin, endured in a violent death the actual outbreak of potent sin. Sin in all its forms spent its rage upon Him. He experienced pain from the weakness of His believing disciples (Matt. xxvi. 35, 40, 51, 69 ff.). The sin of the heathen world in the form of moral frivolity

[1] The statement as to how in a genuinely human consciousness of the boyhood and youth of the growing incarnate Son of God the knowledge and consciousness of His calling as Messiah and of His eternal being (John viii. 58) had grown and developed, is a necessary supplement to § 138, which I recommend to be here read over again. This statement I have given in my *Gospel History*, § 51, and could here have done nothing else than reprint what is said there. Reference, therefore, is simply made to that passage.

and indifference (Matt. xxvii. 24–26), and as savage barbarity (vv. 27–29), was directed against Him. But the Jews, who delivered Him to the pagan Romans, with their specifically Semitic corruption, were the main occasion and authors of His sufferings and death. What parallels of Jewish and pagan personalities are contained in the Gospel history! We might place together the Jewish nobleman, John iv. 47 ff., who did not trouble himself with questions of religion and matters of the soul, and so did not think of Jesus until a family affliction led him to Jesus for help in the affairs of this life; and the Gentile centurion of Matt. viii., who was a friend of the Jewish race despised by the Romans, because he was a worshipper of Israel's God (comp. Luke vii. 5), and who had so great a measure of acquaintance with and understanding of Messianic prophecy, that it was clear to him (Luke vii. 7 f.) that Jesus the Messiah is more than an ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν, and who had such a great measure of love that set all his friends to work on behalf of his sick slave, and who had awakened and called forth so much love that the friends, Gentiles and Jews, willingly and "instantly" (Luke vii. 4) interested themselves in his servant. We might consider the impression made upon the Roman Pilate in one hour by the appearance of Jesus, and compare it with that made on the chief priests and the people of the Jews during the three and a half years' activity of Jesus under which they remained hardened. As a thoroughly skilled official, Pilate immediately saw through the hypocritical spite of the Jews (John xviii. 29), admitted that Jesus was no political adventurer[1] (vv. 34–38), declared Him innocent (ver. 38; Luke xxiii. 4), and used every endeavour to secure His escape. Throughout this whole procedure Pilate appears a naturally noble man. First, where (John xix. 12) the alternative is placed before

[1] The words, What is truth? could not in this connection have been the expression of philosophical scepticism; Pilate does not say as a philosopher that truth is not discoverable, but he says as a statesman that the kingdom of truth is politically free from danger.

him either to assume the responsibility and reproach of delivering Him whom he had pronounced innocent or to condemn the guiltless, then for the first time did the natural nobility of the man show its limitations. How very different was it with the Jews! What mean, low tricks on the part of the Pharisees wherewith from the first they steeled themselves against every call to repentance, men who utterly prevented the purpose of the divine law to awaken the consciousness of sin and humility, and with unspiritual and senseless precepts of their own devising practised a thoroughly Semitic barter-righteousness in the service of a thoroughly Semitic arrogance![1] How essentially of the same sort was the root idea of the Sadducean party, in which the old tendency to heathenism was only changed in form,—into the form of the cosmopolitanism of Reformed Judaism, with a tincture of Pantheism, inwardly absolutely indifferent toward God, and directed only to a cunning estimation of earthly relationships, goods, and enjoyments![2] Over such souls sunk in corruption every appeal of truth runs like water on a waxed floor. And now, finally, of Judas! Had he not had the natural gifts of an apostle, he would not have been chosen by the Lord to a place among the Twelve. For Judas, as well as for each of His disciples, the question was whether he would bring his heart to repentance and self-knowledge, and have himself separated from his natural love of sin. So long as the Galilean people applauded the Lord, Judas held the Lord dear and listened to Him. When (John vi.) for the first time the popular masses gave signs of deserting Jesus, there arose, as

[1] The passages collected in the Mischna date in part from this period; even then the party of the Pharisees was dominated by that Talmudic spirit which gave its attention to passages (*e.g.* of Corban, Mark vii. 11, of the עירובים, of the שיתוף, etc.) which had only the effect of making it possible to dispense with the law under the hypocritical pretence of the strictest fulfilment of the law.

[2] Herod Antipas is a genuine type of this Sadducean Judaism. Alongside of him whom his wife, married to him in incestual adultery, tempted to a murder, may be placed Pilate, whom his wife, faithfully concerned about his peace of conscience, warned against committing a judicial murder.

we must conclude from the warning of ver. 70, in the soul of that disciple the dark feeling of indignation and disappointment. It may have dawned upon him, from the words of Jesus in ver. 51, that the following of Jesus was not to bring the hoped-for earthly glory. Possessed by the specifically Semitic sin of greed, which showed itself in him in the most despicable forms (John xii. 6), he surrendered himself more and more to a spiteful hatred of Jesus. A man upon whom the Japhetic characteristics had been imprinted would in such circumstances have forsaken Jesus; it was the crowning example of the Semitic form of sin to feign submission and thus betray his Master. This all the more commended itself to him when a profit could be made out of it. When Dante in his *Inferno* associates Brutus and Judas together, he strangely overlooks a manifest difference between the two cases. Brutus, in the interest of a political idea, therefore really, or according to his own notion, for the well-being of the State, sacrifices the duty of private gratitude, and was not more ignoble than Ulysses in the *Philoctetes*. With Judas he has not anything in common. Among the disciples of Socrates there was no betrayer. To produce a Judas was reserved for the Semitic race. And thus what was said in § 307 of the grounds and purpose of the choice of the covenant people from the Semitic race is here thoroughly confirmed. Not in spite of, but because in it (comp. the sayings of Christ, Matt. viii. 10, xi. 21, etc.) sin had assumed its most potent form, and all conquest of sin was seen to be purely the act and operation of God,[1] the Semitic people of Israel was chosen as the organ of preparation and as the arena of the act of redemption.

When sin had spent the full measure of its rage upon the incarnate Son of God, the sin-offering, which is of eternal significance, was accomplished in His death, and He who was

[1] Hence then, too, among such Semites as turn in repentance and believingly accept salvation (a Simeon, a John, a Paul, etc.), we behold the noblest, because the humblest form of Christian faith and life.

dead and is alive again for evermore went forth in a transformed body from His grave as the first-fruits, the beginner and king of a new humanity and of a new nature. Detailed investigations regarding the genuineness and credibility of the writings which witness to these facts belong not to this department (see § 7), but to the so-called science of Introduction. But apart from those detailed researches, the historical truth of His incarnation, of His atoning death upon the cross, of His resurrection and ascension into heaven, stands unalterably firm, through witnesses which the most negative criticism has not dared to impugn.

A. JESUS THE ETERNAL SON OF GOD IN TIME BECAME MAN. In opposition to the pretext that this doctrine first appears in the fourth Gospel, and that this writing had its origin only in the second century, it is answered that, in Luke i. 17, John the Baptist is called the forerunner of the *κύριος ὁ Θεός* (for only to this can *αὐτοῦ* refer; comp. Paulus, de Wette, Bleek, etc.), and compare the passages already cited in § 137; Matt. ii. 6; Mark xiii. 32; Matt. xxvi. 63 ff.; Luke i. 16 f. The Revelation of John, not merely by the believing, but also by the negative criticism of the present day, is emphatically recognised as a genuine work of the apostle; but just in it Jesus declares Himself (i. 8, 18) as the "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending," as "the first and the last, and He that liveth," who "was dead, but is alive for evermore," and (ii. 18) as "the Son of God" who (ver. 23) "searcheth the reins and the hearts," and (iii. 1) who "hath the seven spirits of God" (i. 4, iv. 5); and in chap. xxi. 3 it is said that God with them (Immanuel) shall be their God. To this incontestable witness of the Apostle John may be added the unexceptionable testimonies of the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. i. 2, *ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*; viii. 6; 2 Cor. viii. 9). Now it should be remembered that any deification of a creature would appear to the Israelites of that age as a blasphemous enormity, and then let one make the assumption that it had been a private specula-

tion of Paul himself, his own individual opinion that Jesus is Son and Lord by whom the Father created all things (with 1 Cor. viii. 6 comp. Rom. xi. 36), and that He, before He became poor through His incarnation, had been rich, and even in Moses' time (1 Cor. x. 4) already existed and invisibly accompanied the people,—if one should suppose all this, then the twelve apostles would not have had this belief, but, according to Baur's assertion, would have pictured a purely Ebionite Jesus as a mere man. What a bitter strife must then have broken out between Paul and the Twelve! Some have indeed, on the ground of a false exegesis of Gal. ii., assumed that such a struggle actually took place between them in regard to the observance of the ceremonial law, but no one has ventured to attribute to them any controversy over the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. And how can this ever be done so long as the genuineness of the Apocalypse is acknowledged, in which either (according to the Christian theory) Christ revealed Himself to John in visions as the eternal Son of God, or, if (according to the modern pagan theory) John had only invented these visions, he expresses at least his own belief in the eternal divine Sonship of Christ. And Paul in the admittedly genuine Epistles to the Corinthians (1 Cor. i. 2) describes the Christians simply as people who call upon the name of Jesus, *i.e.* worship Him (קרא בשם). Would then an Israelite, and it is admitted that there were plenty of Jewish Christians in Corinth, have worshipped a creature? But even Peter himself says (1 Pet. i. 11) that in the prophets of the Old Testament the spirit of Christ was already working. If, now, the twelve apostles of the Lord were at one in this πληροφορία τῆς συνέσεως, we have in this the most convincing and incontestable proof that they, these Israelites who would shrink with horror from any deification of a creature, had received from Jesus in deeds and words satisfactory proofs and demonstrations of His eternal Godhead, and that the person and teaching of Jesus must have been just what it is represented as being in the Gospel of John, and not less in the other three Gospels,

B. In regard to the ATONING DEATH OF THE LORD, it is enough to point to the holy Supper observed in the whole Christian Church, and that from the very beginning (1 Cor. x., xi.), in addition to which we consider that in 1 Cor. x. 16–21 Christ the Lord is again represented as God over against the false gods of the heathens. In regard to the CRUCIFIXION AS THE MODE OF DEATH, the passages Rom. vi. 6, 1 Cor. i. 13–18, ii. 2, 2 Cor. xiii. 4, Gal. ii. 20, v. 24, vi. 14, should be sufficient.

C. As the holy Supper witnesses on behalf of the death upon the cross, so THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY WITNESSES TO THE RESURRECTION OF THE LORD, taking rank at first alongside of the Jewish Sabbath, and soon thereafter taking its place. Only in consequence of a divine act could Christendom have held itself entitled formally to change the rite enjoined in the decalogue. Thus, then, we have testimony borne to the fact of the resurrection, not only in such disputed apostolical Epistles as Eph. i. 20, 2 Tim. ii. 8, and 1 Pet. i. 4, but also in those which, as incontestably genuine, are the most certain of all (Rom. vi. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv.). The apostle (1 Cor. xv. 6) could refer to the fact that the Risen One had been seen by more than five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part even then survived, which excludes any thought of a merely subjective vision. The insipid fancy of D. Fr. Strauss as to the way in which the belief in the resurrection of Christ may have arisen without the actual occurrence of this resurrection, in which he has involved himself in the most ridiculous self-contradictions, has been already sufficiently commented on by me in my *Gospel History*, where it is tried by the torch of reason and found to be irrational. That even the appearance granted to Paul on the way to Damascus was no mere subjective inward dream-vision in the soul of Paul, but an objective appearance of the Risen One, may be gathered indirectly from 1 Cor. xv. 8 f., as well as from the fact that Paul designates the resurrection of Christ (Eph. i. 19, 20) *ἐνέργεια τοῦ κράτους τῆς*

ἰσχύως τοῦ Θεοῦ, and (in 1 Cor. xv. 53; 2 Cor. v. 2 f.) he speaks of the resurrection in general as a being clothed upon of the material body in itself mortal with power, not as an immaterializing. What sense would there be in this on the supposition of a subjective dream-like vision, since in that case no "working of the mighty power of God," but only some nervous weakness of a man, would be required. But we have direct proof from his disciple and fellow-traveller Luke, who, partly in his own words, partly in those of the apostle, tells how the appearance was seen also by the companions of the apostle, though they perceived not indeed the form of Christ (Acts ix. 7), but only the bright light (xxii. 9), by the brilliancy of which they were dazzled (comp. ver. 11); and heard indeed somewhat of the sound (ix. 7, τῆς φωνῆς), but could not understand the words (xxii. 9, τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι).

D. That the Risen One has ascended into heaven, and that from thence He will visibly descend to judgment, is witnessed to again by Paul (1 Cor. i. 7, iv. 5, xv. 51; 2 Cor. v. 10; comp. Eph. i. 20, iv. 9; Col. iii. 4; 1 Thess. iv. 13 ff.), by Peter (1 Pet. i. 7, iv. 5), by John (Rev. i.–xxii.).—The Ebionite Jesus, who was a mere man, exists only in the imagination and wish of modern Buddhists, not in history.

Obs. 1.—D. Fr. Strauss (*Leb. Jesu f. d. d. V.* p. 206) affirms that the historical Jesus of the first three Gospels thought that the heavenly Father should be conceived of as unconditional and indiscriminate goodness. One need only read Matt. viii. 12, xii. 34, xxiii. 13 ff., 33, and 35, xxiv. 13, 31, and 51, xxv. 41 ff., and their parallels! There is a certain tone which could not certainly be used of a God who was "unconditional goodness." But in Jesus Christ, whether we refer to the synoptic Gospels or the Gospel of John, there is represented throughout the nature of that same holy God who had revealed Himself in the Old Testament, of the God who in His grace, yea, through His grace, is holy — through grace, because the kind of the redemption with which pantheism, like its father, since Gen. iii. 5, has been able to bless men—"there is no difference, and it is all one whether you love God or set your will in opposition to His; the latter, just as well as the former, leads to the end, yea, even better, for sin is a necessary transition point in the development," would be not only a degradation but a complete

brutalizing (comp. § 141). Christ indeed has taught (Matt. v. 45) that God exercises long-suffering toward the sinner, and gives him a gracious respite, and that He actually exercised such long-suffering (Luke xiii. 8; Matt. xxiii. 37), not, however, that He may treat the sinner "without distinction," and lull his conscience asleep, but in order to comfort those who have been longing for salvation, the weary and heavy laden, to call the impenitent by earnest threatening of doom unto repentance, to proclaim in the ears of the hardened the infallible judgment of God. Between Jesus Christ and the God of the Old Testament there is not the least essential disagreement. "Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of me."

Obs. 2.—The performance of miracles generally is historically witnessed to in 1 Cor. xii. 9; 2 Cor. xii. 12; Acts xvi. 26, xx. 9 ff., xxviii. 3–6, and 8, 9.

SECOND SECTION.

THE EFFECTS OF REDEMPTION.

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§ 313. *The Several Effects of Redemption.*

TO those who believe in His name, Christ has given the power to become the sons of God (John i. 12). In regard to redemption, however, man has the right of free self-determination (§ 135); he can harden himself against the offered salvation, against the gracious operations of the Holy Spirit on his inner man. Hence it may be at once concluded that the divine act of redemption does not affect the subsequent history of mankind mechanically after the pattern of a law of nature, so that the process of historical development from the appearing of Christ might be represented as that of the history of a generation made free from sin. This indeed were impossible for this reason, that Christianity must first spread itself among unredeemed mankind, which requires time. So, then, besides the community of those who believe in Christ, there is present from the first the multitude of those who do not yet believe, or have not yet even once heard of Christ. But even within the range of the first community, yea, within the range of the most exclusive, most exactly defined Christian communion, individual self-determination remains always free, and in it the possibility of an opposition to salvation or a turning away again from it. Hence, then, Christ has foretold (Matt. xiii. 24–30) that there will be no sort of community which will not include stalks of tares along with the stalks of wheat. It therefore follows that there can and must be an organic

communion of those who, through holy baptism, confess Christ as Redeemer; but this communion—the Christian Church—is a communion of the means of grace, not of the effects or results of grace. God, on His part, stores up in it in the word and sacraments all the means which are necessary in order to reach unto eternal life, but the results of grace—the fruits of the redeeming act of Christ—are always dependent upon the individual self-determination. There are within the range of the Church—the society which hands out to its members the means of grace — visible because distinguished by baptism from all that are without—nominal Christians and hypocrites, and it never has been and never will be possible to form a close communion which shall consist of members all truly converted to Christ, born again of His Spirit, and endued with the power of a new life. These "true Christians" constitute the kingdom of God, known only to God, but not visible to the eyes of men.—But still further: even among the true Christians the fruits of redemption are here below always only relative, because even in the redeemed individual alongside of the new man of regeneration there is still the old man as something to be overcome, the last remnant of which will first be utterly destroyed at the death of the body (comp. Rom. vii. 24). —If, now, we inquire after the specific fruits of redemption, after the proofs of its power, we have to advance this proof, not from the history of Christian communities, but are quite properly pointed to the biographies of Christian personalities in whom the gospel has proved itself the power of God. And thus through all centuries there exists a cloud of witnesses before our eyes which in no respect comes behind that of the Old Testament (Heb. xi.). We find among them no single saint, at least no sinless man, let alone any one who performed more than he was bound to do, and had "superfluous merits." Even the purest Christian had his blemishes,—his black side,—where the old man was still present in weaknesses or one-sidednesses of character, in errors, in manifold momentary failings. The world hostile to Christianity, which loves

to blacken the shining and to drag the noble in the dust, is never weary of pointing with scorn and malicious joy to any naked point where a Christian lays himself open to attack. But in doing so it always contributes something of its own, and after all does not make much of it in the end; for, if it regards every sin and sinful weakness in the Christian as so evil, it thereby involuntarily testifies that, according to its own conviction and its own feeling, sin and Christian faith are incompatible with one another, that therefore Christianity is directly hostile to sin. Higher praise and fuller recognition Christianity cannot desire. But whoever now considers with an unprejudiced mind the history of the kingdom of God, — *i.e.* of those witnesses,—this power of patience under sufferings, gentleness toward persecutors, the constancy of faith which prefers tortures and death to denial of the truth, the self-sacrificing love which goes forth to the erring, the neglected, the miserable, the sick, the poor, regards it as a sacred duty to alleviate every sort of trouble, gives up earthly gain and enjoyment, the happiness and ease of life, in order to work for Christ's kingdom in the Spirit of Christ: then again, the power of heroic witnessing against sin with willing endurance of the reproach of Christ, or, to refer to more homely instances, whoever keeps in view the sanctity of the family life, the purity of chastely-living youth, the fostering of quiet domestic happiness in modesty and the fear of God, the heavenly nobility of Christian wives—whoever turns his attention to a Paul (2 Cor. xi.), a Polycarp, an Ambrose, an Augustine, a Monica, a Patrick and Columba, a Peter Waldus, an Elizabeth of Hesse, to the Reformers, to those who witnessed for the gospel with their blood, then again to a Spener, Cocceius, Lampe, Tersteegen, Francke, Anna Frey, Amelie Sieveking, Wilberforce, Fliederer, Baron v. Koltwiz, Gossner, and hundreds who cannot here be named, or thousands of unknown who yet are known to the Lord,—he will perceive that fruits of purity, holiness, self-denial, Christian patience and Christian courage have never been wanting, and that though the Spirit of Christ here below makes of believers no sinless saints, He does

make men of God, who walk in the fear of the Lord and in the love of the Lord, and are engaged in a constant struggle against sin. The celebrated blasphemer of God, now gone to his place, has thrown contempt upon the position of a Christian engaged in such a conflict, by comparing him to a beast on which an angel rides. It is well, then, that the angel finally rides the beast to death; better such a riding angel than a mere beast. The words of Jesus Christ in John xvi. 8–11 retain their truth: the Holy Spirit proving in actual believers its sin-conquering power convinces the world that it is wrong in regard to sin, righteousness, and judgment. In regard to sin, it becomes apparent that where there is no belief in Christ, sin undestroyed and unpunished shoots up into a strong growth. In regard to righteousness, it is felt that a world which had no place for the solitary Being who was without sin, but hated, drove away, and slew Him, as it still to-day hates and to-day would slay Him, has not righteousness on its side; the world has a presentiment, and feels that the Church has a living connection with its invisible, and by the world so much hated head; it feels that its hatred is directed against a really supernatural power of life, and is therefore unrighteousness; the invisible Church of Christ is to it a phenomenon that causes discomfort and uneasiness.[1] Then also in regard to judgment, it is convinced by the Spirit of the Lord proving itself powerful in that Church, that the final judgment is already in operation, that the sifting process in the world incessantly goes on, and what will not let itself be saved is given over to certain destruction.—But this leads to a second point—to the fermenting influence which Christianity exercises upon the world.

§ 314. *The Influence of Christianity on the Life of the People and the State.*

By means of the ordinance of baptism instituted by Christ the multitude of the confessors of Christ are marked out and

[1] With the Church as visible it sooner learns how to deal.

brought together into a visible communion, the Christian Church. To every member the Christian Church furnishes the means of grace. In those means and through them the Holy Spirit exercises His influence upon man (*gratia sufficiens*); but the kind of use and the result of the means depends on the self-determination of the man to repentance, faith, sanctification. It is possible for a man to withdraw himself from the operation of the Holy Spirit in the means of grace, or not to use the means of grace themselves, or finally, to use them hypocritically and only in appearance.[1] Thus (§ 313) the membership of the Church contains in itself no guarantee of the membership of the kingdom of God. But the kingdom of God, the invisible, that is, not visibly marked off, community of those standing in the new life of the Spirit of Christ, is within the range of the Christian Church. With all its defects and blemishes and impurities, the visible organization bears in it that invisible organism (Eph. i. 22, iv. 15; John xv. 1 ff.) with its heavenly powers, and therein the former, where it exists, and all the more powerfully in proportion as it exists in relative purity, exercises a transforming influence, not only upon the life of the individual and family, but also upon that of the people and the State. The influence which it thus exercises is that of a witness. More than this the Christian Church should not exercise. It should offer the means of grace, it should not make their use compulsory, for then it would usurp authority over the State, and by civil laws enact entrance into the Church, therefore baptism,[2] or even faith itself. But it

[1] One thinks, for example, of the Semite H. Heine, who from purely worldly motives accepted baptism, and immediately after receiving the ordinance wrote a letter full of blasphemy against the Christ whom he hated.

[2] And if not baptism, then also not the Christian consecration of marriage. That by the introduction of civil marriages the Church and Christendom should suffer damage, I cannot for my part admit. The Church will then, if membership in it is a matter of free self-determination, first truly find again the power that comes from independence, and this is also for the good of the State and public life. Only there evidently

must and does bear witness, the witness for the truth and against lies and sin. In this its influence upon the life of the people consists, in that it wakens the sleeping conscience even in those who stand far removed from the faith. The appropriation of redemption is a matter of individual self-determination; but conscience is a universal attribute of man as such (§ 106). Thus, then, history teaches that the Christian Church wherever it has spread itself, and wherever it has affected the majority of a nation, has aroused the public conscience, and has in this way secured that deeds, which might have before passed unpunished, are now repudiated by the civil legislature and are placed under the criminal code, by which means the conscience awakened in regard to them is also kept awake throughout succeeding generations. When the Roman State under Constantine adopted Christianity, the gladiatorial contests, those butcheries for the enjoyment of a brutalized public, as well as the production of obscene performances at the theatre, were forbidden by an act of the legislature; the divorces, which had before been possible on the flimsiest pretences, were in some measure restricted; the absolute power of fathers over their children, to kill them or sell them as slaves, as well as that of masters over their slaves, was greatly modified; slaves were placed under the protection of the laws, and their condition generally was essentially improved; the prisons were arranged and fitted in accordance with more humane ideas; the more horrible

must be in the Church and its officers as much force of character and ecclesiastical *esprit* as to exercise in a consistent manner church discipline against those who actually speak contemptuously of Christianity, *e.g.* by the concluding of mixed marriages with those who are not Christians.—This ecclesiastical *esprit* is wanting here and there. In the Zurich State Church, calling itself Reformed, the simple declaration, "I wish to belong to this State Church," is all that is required in order to be received into it, and for full membership in it baptism is not indispensable! Indeed, the two communions still rub together in the German Swiss State Church, the Christian and that of the heathenish "Reformer" fumbling about in a transition process, but it might be wished that this process were conducted with some more energy.

forms of penal execution were abolished; greater privileges were accorded to women, and widows and orphans, who previously were utterly uncared for, had now legal protection extended to them.[1]

We shall not need to go through all the various nationalities pointing out the legislative improvements introduced in consequence of their receiving Christianity. The notorious horrors that were publicly suffered: human sacrifices, blood-revenge, murder, public immoralities and shameful deeds, have all been prohibited by law. So also slavery was by degrees completely abolished. When it was introduced again in A.D. 1516 by Spain and Portugal as negro slavery, this was done, indeed, on the well-meant but unfortunate advice of the personally estimable Bishop Las Casas of Chiapa, by a part of the Christian Church in which the knowledge of the essential core and centre of Christianity, the knowledge of the gospel, was thoroughly obscured; and just in this way is explained the continuance of absolutism and barbarism during the Middle Ages. By Christian believing statesmen of an evangelical State the abolition of negro slavery was accomplished. To put it all in a few words: Not where the Church has become a power, but where in the Church the gospel has become a power, the Church exercises its blissful influence as a witness upon the life of the people and the State. And this influence is one that rejuvenates the people. In the heathen world (§ 303) civilisation has passed over particular peoples like a shadowy cloud, and after it has past they are in deeper barbarism and rudeness than before. When, on the other hand, the Roman empire, that had become politically rotten, was shattered by the wild heathen German tribes, the Christianity of the conquered overcame the conquerors. Among the Romanic mixed races, as well as among the pure Germans, and later also the Scandinavians, the civilisation of ancient times lived on, their culture was

[1] De Rhoer, *dissertatio de effectu religionis christianæ in jurisprudentiam Romanam*, Groning. 1776.

indeed a slow but steady revival, and with an ever-renewed and increasing vigour these nations have surmounted every historical crisis.

One must not, however, on this account entertain the idea that that is to be ascribed to the credit of ancient civilisation which was the proof of the power of Christianity; and so we turn, finally, to a consideration of the effects which the gospel has directly produced upon wholly uncivilised peoples. The modern heathenism of our day, quite properly characterized on account of its hostility to missions as friendly to heathenism, though not friendly to the heathens, affirms that missions do nothing for the savage peoples, and that missionary effort is foolishly lost labour,[1] that we should give the heathen people civilisation, or still better, we should let them follow out their own development. We simply place these foolish and false cries over against history. When, in A.D. 1816, the first English missionaries, Jansen and Düring, went to the Cape of Sierra Leone they found there twenty-two different negro tribes, with twenty-two different idioms or dialects, in a condition of utter corruption, and threatened with speedy extinction. They went about quite naked, had no longer any trace of marriage; the ideal of that "free love" which is advocated by a well-known party in our own day was realized among the negroes, *i.e.* free sexual intercourse of all with all as liking prompted, prevailed; from fifteen to twenty persons of both sexes lived together in the same hut. The physical consequences were not far to seek. They were altogether miserable and wasted; the death-rate increased to a frightful extent, while throughout the whole district in one year there were only six births. Their religion consisted in gloomy and most absurd Fetich-worship. Four years later, when Renner visited these coasts, he found a large village consisting of nineteen streets with regularly built houses, inhabited by four hundred respectably dressed married couples; in six months

[1] *E.g.* Kossak Hildebrandt's *Reise um die Erde* (in many passages). Comp. the various writings of Gerstäcker, Langhaus, etc.

there were only six deaths, while in last three months there were forty-two births. These four hundred married couples were Christians, the first-fruits of the mission; thirteen hundred negroes took part in Christian worship: five hundred boys and girls attended school.[1] All good qualities and natural gifts of the Hamitic races, childlike openness and trustfulness, hearty gratitude, were awakened out of the grave, where they had slumbered for more than a thousand years. But, first of all, the conscience had been awakened, and, lo, it had suffered itself to awake; it was still existing, deep though its sleep had been, and under the light of the gospel it quickly became a tender conscience, more tender than that which the enemies of missions possess. This is not an isolated case. That the Bushmen have reached the very confines of extinction, and border upon the very brute creation, has been shown in § 277. But even among them the gospel has proved its regenerative power. Among many facts this one will serve as an example, that at the consecration of a new house of God in Bushland a choir of converted Bushmen performed well and correctly the chorus, "The Heavens are telling," from Haydn's Creation.[2] Among the Papuans of Australia the horrible custom prevailed of the newly-married man giving over his young bride to all the men of the tribe; the children begotten from these connections were slain and eaten. The language of the people has no words for the ideas "love, fidelity, honour, forgiveness." The people have no longer any trace of religion; instead of it there is only a faint conception of a good and a bad spirit, to whom, however, no sort of worship is rendered. Nowhere have idols or fetiches been met with, no ritual, no priest, no sacrifice. Long-continued efforts of the Moravian missionaries proved fruitless. When Threlkeld, nevertheless, attempted a

[1] Reports by Jansen, Düring, and Renner from 1816-1820 in *Basl. Miss. Mag.* 1839, II. 2.

[2] Schleinitz, "The Lowest of the Heathen," in *History of Sixth Confer. of Evang. Alliance*, New York 1874, p. 622.

new mission enterprise, the unbelieving laughed, even the believing were doubtful. (Does still Darwinism maintain that a crow has more mind or spirit than a Papuan!) But in A.D. 1860 the first-fruits of New Holland Papuans, Nathanael Pepper, was baptized; by this time there is a considerable number of Christian Papuan villages; many Papuans have learnt reading, writing, and arithmetic, and among the twelve hundred colonial schools of New Holland that of Papuan children at Ramahyuk has lately received from Government the first prize.[1] While previously the number of deaths far exceeded the births, the relation which they bear to one another is now quite the reverse.—On the strip of coast down from Sierra Leone the Methodist missionaries alone, from A.D. 1817 to A.D. 1834, have gathered together no less than 2220 Church members of converted negroes. The Baptists had, in A.D. 1856, in their East Indian and South African Mission Stations 4240 communicants. And these are just the two denominations which are most inclined to be slow in admitting to baptism. In the New Hebrides, where in A.D. 1839 the missionary Williams was killed and eaten, there are now 50,000 converts. In New Holland, among those Papuans that had become almost brutish, the missionary Threlkeld has wrought with most encouraging success; even in them conscience had only been asleep; so soon as it was awakened and had found peace in Christ, they became instead of apparently half-ape like creatures, God-fearing and civilised men. In the West Indies there were, in A.D. 1825, not less than 40,000 converted negro slaves. If one takes the trouble and reads the history of the conversion of the Bechuanas and

[1] *Supra*, p. 621.—Our Darwinians should not stop short of instituting crow-schools and securing still further the culture of the crows, as Threlkeld has done for the Papuans. If they do not succeed, it is clearly proven that the heathen Papuans do not represent a low grade of natural development like the crows, but are actual men, *i.e.* qualitatively distinguished from the brutes by having a self-consciousness and a conscience that may be awakened, and so has not been utterly destroyed, and that their nature has only been deeply sunk in sin and through sin.

Bassutos in South Africa, that of the Fiji islanders wholly converted, of New Holland, of the Sandwich Islands, since A.D. 1831 wholly converted, of the Karens and others of Further India, with 14,000 communicants, among a professing Christian population of 100,000, of the Kolhs, etc.,[1]—if one reads that, he will soon see that only miserable and pitiful ignorance can form such absurd judgments as those which we have quoted. Along with salvation the gospel has brought to the heathens a pure civilisation (Matt. vi. 33). But what has civilisation without Christianity ever brought to the heathens? Brandy and opium.[2] For a civilisation that is carried out in the service of selfishness and greed brings not culture, but only produces a more terrible barbarism among the heathens. Civilised men, if in themselves conscience has not been awakened, are unscrupulous in making use of the heathens for their own selfish ends, but cannot be expected to be able to awaken conscience in the heathen. This can only be done by the witness of the gospel carried out by the Church. And only on the basis of an awakened conscience can true civilisation grow.

§ 315. *The Influence of Sin on the Christian Life of the Community.*

If the Christian Church, by reason of the power of the gospel living in it, exercises an influence of such a sort upon the world and society by means of the witness of the truth, it cannot be wondered at that the power of sinful purpose present in the world, which is not willing to have itself punished, should lead on a hostile reaction against the Church as the

[1] Comp. especially Warneck on Missions in *Allg. Conservat. Monatschrift* of Nathusius (1879, May and June), also in Daheim of that date, in the literature quoted by him on the subject.

[2] Messrs. Kossak and company speak glibly as if the Christian-hearted people of England should bear the blame of the opium traffic. In England there are friends of missions; in England there are also opium traders; consequently these two are one and the same persons!!

bearer of the gospel. There was first of all the downright hostility of bloody violent persecution; but the ὑπομονὴ καὶ πίστις τῶν ἁγίων won the victory over the rage of the enemies, the Spirit of Jesus Christ was victorious over brutal cruelty. Even the craftily conceived system of Neo-Platonism, which arose about the middle of the third century, proved impotent over against the gospel, and was buried with its chief patron, Julian the Apostate, in the same coffin "which the son of the carpenter" made for them. Much more formidable was, and still is even to this day, a kingdom of lies in which during the seventh century the opposition of the darkness to the light gained for itself concentrated force. Once again it was a Semitic tribe which put itself in the hands of the Prince of darkness as his fit and convenient tool. If God had chosen the Semitic Israel as His people, that they, because quite destitute of natural goodness, should in the persons of their believing members appear a pure work of divine grace, but in the persons of unbelievers should vent forth their sin as wickedness against Jesus, it was this time the Prince of darkness who chose the Semitic race of Ishmael as his people and instrument, in order to produce in an amalgam of truth and lies a religion which, like a poisonous simoom, has spread its life-destroying presence over a great part of the earth. A mongrel product of mantic fanaticism and cunning calculation, borrowing a monotheism of merely doctrinaire significance from a corrupted heretical Christianity and from the Judaism that survived among the Old Arabians (§ 255, *Obs.*), removing from its idea of God the attribute of holiness, and from its idea of Christianity its central point, redemption, by some external observances, which were not very grievous to the flesh, silencing conscience, setting aside the mystery of the incarnation of the eternal personal love by shallow rationalistic arguments, Islam, under its two chief forms of savage and fanatical cruelty and calm refined sensuality, has emancipated the flesh, degraded the position of the wife, destroyed the family life, changed the State into a despotism, and under the varnish of an outward appearance

of civilisation has made true culture of the mind impossible.[1] Islam, possessed of such deadly power, not only well-nigh extinguished the Eastern Church which had already become inwardly rotten, and even temporarily endangered the Church of the West, but also like a wall of separation forced itself between Christian Europe and the African and Asiatic heathen world from the Pillars of Hercules to the Aral and Balkash lakes, and for centuries, down to the discovery and opening up of the seaway to the East Indies, made it impossible for Christendom to exercise any influence upon heathendom, or do anything for the spread of the gospel.[2]

And yet these outside foes of Christianity are not altogether the worst. More hurtful than the opposition to the gospel by the world from without, is the influence which sin, present in the human race as a pathological condition (§ 115 ff.), and even, too, among the most pure and faithful Christians not yet wholly overcome, exercises upon the life of Christian society, and therefore upon the Christian Church. It is no evidence against Christianity, but rather a witness to its truth, that the condition of Christendom as a whole shows no rising, but a steady sinking, no development, but a growing decay, a Babylonian confusion of truth and lies, and that the history of the Church or "Christendom" after a certain point moves down-

[1] It was with the foreign plumes of Old Persian civilisation that the oft-praised Chalifat of Haroun al-Raschid adorned itself. Islam could not preserve this culture, but could only help to kill it out among the Persians. On the weird stories of the demoniacal origin of Islam and its whole system, comp. Mühleisen-Arnold, *Ishmael, or the Bible and the Koran*.

[2] Nothing can be more perverse than the assertion that Islamic Semitism, by reason of its monotheism derived from natural Semitic tendencies (!), formed for the negro races a bridge over to Christianity. One only needs to read Livingstone's and Baker's travels to be convinced how that boasted Semitism brings to the negroes along with the slave trade, war, brandy, murder, mutilation, and destruction, without even making an attempt to convert the heathen to monotheism. One may read in Rholf's *Quer durch Africa*, how still under our very eyes well-disposed and peaceable negro tribes were changed by Islamism into crafty fanatics, and how, alongside of other praiseworthy institutions, Islam has introduced among them syphilis.

ward, where it must reach a final crisis, and where a new divine act will separate the gold from the dross, the wheat from the tares (Matt. xiii. 41; Rev. xix. 16, 19). Pantheistic dreamers have fabled that mankind will always grow better, till the Church will be quite superfluous, and finally be absorbed in the State. Jesus Christ prophesies the opposite. The Babylonian blending of truth and lies becomes ever finer and more subtle. The characteristics of this course of development are shadowed forth in the history of the apostolic age. Paul during his lifetime had to fight against a Judaistic legal perversion of Christianity. It was not that Israel was chosen as the instrument of God for the sake of redemption, and redemption wrought for all penitent members of the sinful human race, but Christ was to come for Israel's sake, and one must first become an Israelite through circumcision and observance of the law before he can have a part in Christ. So Christ was regarded as a machine for blessing, a *thesaurus beatitudinis* for Israel, and man's fulfilling of the law was to guarantee and secure salvation.[1] About the time of his departure Paul prophesied of a directly opposite heretical tendency as imminent, of an antinomian character, and what he prophesied was fulfilled soon after in the appearance of Gnosticism within the Church, against which Jude and John contended, and (1 John ii. 19) banished from the Church, so that from the second century it was found in sects outside the Church's pale. It was not through the question, What must I do to be saved, to be freed from guilt and sin, that those Gnostics were drawn to Christianity, but they hoped to find solutions for cosmological, religious-historical, and pagan-ethical problems in particular points of the Christian doctrine. They took Christianity not for that which it is, as redemption from sin, but as something entirely different, yea, directly the opposite of this. They were not concerned with redemption from sin, but with the palliation of sin. So they shifted the guilt of sin from

[1] Against the fundamental error of the παρεισακτοι ψευδάδελφοι, Paul can cite the authority of the twelve apostles on his side. Gal. ii. 6; Acts xv.

man on to matter and on to the Demiurge, who as distinguished from the highest God was the creator of matter. That in Christ, the eternal personal love, the eternally-loved, loving One became man, in order to manifest absolute love in substitutionary suffering of death and of absolute pain on account of sin, was to them, who longed for no redemption, as inconceivable as it is to Pantheists of to-day. They explained Jesus, either as having assumed the appearance of a body,[1] or as a mere man distinguished from the "Aeon Christ."[2] The Aeon Christ should not suffer, should not die, but should only have brought a philosophical knowledge, or have redeemed the spirit from matter. Since sin was now regarded, not as a determination of the will, but only as consequence of connection with matter, it followed that no sin which He committed could stain the spirit inwardly redeemed from matter, that to Him anything was allowable.—During the apostolic age such errors could not be affirmed within the Christian Church; by powerful discipline the Church was purged of such heresies. But in the post-apostolic age we have what in the course of almost two thousand years has been repeated in a remarkably similar manner. Understanding that the gospel means of grace are to be found within and not without the Church, that outside of it are only Jewish, pagan, and gnostic lies, men like Ignatius exhorted to faithful combination and union under the ἐπίσκοποι. This was what might be expected and is justifiable. But when even over against earnest, though in part morbidly earnest tendencies, like those of the Montanists, the Novatians, and Donatists, a Cyprian and an Augustine place the *consensus episcoporum* as the criterion of truth, it was not a long step that was needed to set aside the proposition, "The Church possesses the

[1] So the Naassenes and Perates (Hippolytus, Book V.); also the Gnostics of Tralles, Smyrna, and Ephesus (Ignat. Smyr. ii. and v., Eph. xviii., and Trall. x.).

[2] So Cerinthus (Iren. i. 26). According to the testimony of Polycarp (in Iren. iii. 3. 4), Cerinthus was a contemporary of John, and lived beside him in Ephesus.

truth because it possesses the gospel," and substitute for it its opposite, "The gospel is truth because it is taught by the Church." Thus the Church was not for the sake of the gospel, but the gospel was for the sake of the Church, as among the Jewish teachers Christ was for the Israelites. Soon this instinctive, demoniacal striving after dominion, inherited from paganism, gained possession of that distorted proposition, of the Roman chair significantly standing forth among the turmoil of the movements of the nations, "Truth depends upon the *consensus episcoporum*." This must be carefully guarded, and how could this be done more effectually than by a sovereign pontiff? for which rank the Bishop of Rome endeavoured eagerly to qualify himself by the use of utterly unhistorical figments. By what means from that day forth the Roman chair proceeded to break down and destroy every National Church independent of Rome which would not submit itself to him, how he made his command and laws paramount, but the grace of God a *thesaurus*, under the custody of the Church of Rome, the treasures of which must be merited by works and acts of obedience, while in practice he turned the glance of the Christian away from the Redeemer to the ecclesiastical means, Pope, priesthood, mass, indulgences, Mary and the saints, and demanded submission from States and their rulers as the general dispenser of the divine grace, may be learnt from Church history. When, among the Reformers, the *Paulus redivivus* opposed to this pagan creature-worshipping as well as Judaistic-legal system the evangelical witness, the Roman Pontiff hardened himself and lost his opportunity, engaged in cruel persecutions of the gospel in Spain, France, Holland, Italy, Hungary, and at first also in Great Britain, played the role which once the heathen world had played, and produced in the diabolical craft of the order of the Jesuits and other instruments a moral pest, the like of which paganism had never known. The corrupt products of a Christianity reared upon lies must necessarily be more poisonous and vile than those of heathenism. Nitrate of potash gives nitre, but nitrate of silver

gives lunar caustic. Only madness can charge the offensive manifestations of the papacy against Christianity, or, yet more silly, against religion *in abstracto*. It is only reasonable that one should distinguish between the gospel and an ecclesiastical institution. The former is the truth revealed by God, the latter a product of the reception of this truth on the part of man. An ecclesiastical institution may become faulty and decay; the gospel, never. The gospel is and remains for ever one and the same; a Church institution can change, because it sets in the place of the gospel figments of human sin, or adulterates the gospel with such ingredients. Hence, then, arise those manifestations of moral corruption. But senseless as it is to lay to the charge of Christianity, *i.e.* the gospel, those manifestations which have their origin just in departure from the gospel, nevertheless the world, which eagerly catches at every kind of reproach against the truth, draws this false conclusion. It confounds with the gospel the faults of the Christian community, of the Church. Because men in opposition to the gospel misuse the name of the gospel, or Christianity, or Christ, or the forgiveness of sins, or grace, etc., in the service of their lust of power or greed, for the delusion, yea, for the actual stupefying of the people, the mass of those who have not yet come to a knowledge of their sinful misery, have no longing after salvation, yea, no wish to be delivered from sin, immediately will draw with instinctive cunning the false conclusion, "therefore this whole affair of Christ, forgiveness of sins, etc., is silly deceit, the gospel only a trick or delusion, all religion only a sham." Because an infected pseudo-Church has involved itself in the guilt of fanatical, yea, Satanic persecutions, the bulk of people draw the false conclusion that all religion is fanatical and leads to fanaticism. Thus is unbelief bound in the fetters of superstition. The confused mixture of truth and lies in Roman Catholicism has brought truth into discredit.[1] The theory of unbelief, like

[1] Of the pillagings by soldiers under Louis XIV. Chateaubriand writes: "The sight of the narrow-minded and cruel bigotry of the king, of the

that of a new Gnosticism, yea, of a repristinated Buddhistic paganism, was first of all found out in the form of a philosophical theory by a Semite, Baruch Spinoza (§ 182). It belongs as such to the province of philosophical science. But, that the essential view in this system, the denial of the personal, holy, willing God, the theory of absolute natural necessity under which the Absolute Himself stands, therefore the explaining away of sin as a necessary moment in the world's development, and the denial of the miraculous,—that this essential view, since Bayle, the Deists, and Encyclopædists, could keep hold of the masses of the people, and that during one generation also in Germany should have thoroughly permeated the masses, is a consequence of that discredit into which the gospel of God has been brought through faulty Church organizations of men. And this is to be said of Churches Roman or non-Roman, for who will deny that even the period of orthodoxy in the Evangelical Churches, and even Pietism itself, has here its seamy side? But here now a conclusion obtrudes itself which we cannot refuse to draw: Superstition and unbelief work together hand in hand, though the representatives of the two tendencies have not this in view. According to their individual intention they hit wildly at one another, and thereby the one only furthers the other. The farther the confusing power of the amalgamating of truth and lies pushes its φαρμακεῖαι, the more surely do the masses turn away from all truth. The more daintily and consistently unbelief undermines all the grand works of moral, and therefore of social and civil order, the more surely will instances occur in which the

dishonourable tricks of his godfather, of the profanation of the sacraments approved by the clergy, of the soldiers transformed into missionaries, of the soiling of religion with blood and horrors, of the priests who trampled under foot all human and divine laws, were the immediate cause that drove the upper classes into the arms of scepticism."—In our own days, how much have the two newly-ordained doctrines of Pius IX., together with his contention against the civil power, contributed to arouse multitudes in Germany to make a great outcry against the whole of Christianity and the gospel, which is indiscriminately summed together under the name of the papacy!

comfortless, weary, and excited masses, because they cannot longer exist upon mere negations, will cast themselves into the arms of the most extravagant superstitions of the Church. We see here standing over the individual will of sinful man a higher power opposed to God, a providence of evil which operates against the providence of God, only, indeed, with the prospect of a certain final overthrow by a last decisive act of God.[9] Thus by ocular demonstration and experience what Holy Scripture says of the Prince of this world is confirmed, not a supernatural, not a supramundane, but a superhuman being, because belonging to another department of creation than the earth, a created being wilfully rebelling against God; and this doctrine of Scripture is the truth, the caricature of which is seen in the heathens' fear of evil spirits and in the heathens' worship of evil spirits. Paganism, not recognising sin as evil, traces evil back to evil spirits, which it seeks to pacify by sacrifices, to curse and bind by sorcery; Christianity recognises in calamity and evil God's chastisements, but acknowledges as the tempter to sin, and as him whose plans directed against God, the will of man directed against God must involuntarily carry out, a prince of darkness, against whom no sorcery, but only believing surrender to God's purpose of grace, can avail.— Under the successive forms of lies, the Church that has let its place be usurped by a lie and open revolt from Church and Christianity, the invisible Church of the members of Christ, which in time is still the invisible kingdom of Christ, has to suffer. In the history of this kingdom the history of the Lord is repeated. The persecution of the child Jesus by Herod answers to the pre-Constantine persecution by the heathen world outside the Church. The age that followed corresponds to the three and a half years' official activity of Christ. When the prophesied falling away (Rev. xvii.) has been accomplished, and an end has been made of the witness of the law (§ 314) and of the gospel (Rev. xi. 7 ff.), then will the days of the passion for the invisible Church of Christ have come, which He will bring to an end by His second coming.

Where do we stand? Whoever considers attentively the signs of the times, will be ready to admit that our age is comparable to the last year of the active work of Christ, where the great masses of the people of Israel, who previously had followed under a mistaken enthusiasm, turned away from Him, and left Him alone with His disciples (Matt. xvi.-xx.). In this present day, again, this same Semitic people appears as chief operator in introducing a phase of modern Sadducæism which aims at overthrowing the Christian faith of the Germanic and Germano-Roman, but mainly the Germanic races, and carrying out a propaganda on behalf of a pantheistic theory of the world, and strives in this way to decompose and destroy as much as possible the specifically Japhetic-Aryan nationality of the German peoples. That the modern State, under the influence of evangelical church institutions, no longer persecutes and oppresses the Jews as the mediæval State did, under the influence of the Romish Church, is in the highest degree proper; but not so this, that the members of this foreign race, with the characteristic forwardness of their race,[1] should not only take their place in the German States alongside of others, but should bit by bit give the lead in the press and in the legislative assemblies.[2] Our German people has been only too complaisant toward them during this generation. The social and civil life of the people is already dominated by pantheistic ideas. "*Laissez faire!* Leave unrestricted freedom to the will of the individual; all evil corrects itself as a moment in the necessary course of development, and will do so infallibly of itself." In the social and

[1] It deserves to be recorded that a Jewish paper appearing in Berlin had the impudence to demand the abolition of the Christian second festival!

[2] Comp. Constant. Frantz, *Der Nationalliberalismus und die Judenherrschaft*, München 1874.—Yet quite curtly has a distinguished Jewish literateur spoken out in a publication: "German Judaism works now so powerfully, so vigorously, so unweariedly for the new culture and science, that the greatest part of Christianity [*sic!* he would say: Christendom] consciously or unconsciously is guided by the spirit of modern Judaism.' Comp. *Deutsche Reichspost*, 1879, 23 Juli.

civil economic sphere it is said: "The egoism of the individual already secures its own highest well-being; when prices are dear, then importation increases; work is merchandise;" and are spoken of as the infallible dicta of the Manchester school! But experience has shown that the principle of unrestricted egoism (since labour is a sort of merchandise which cannot be piled up) leads to nothing else than a depression in the rewards of labour in favour of the capitalists and to their immense enriching, and a fit of rage on the part of men robbed of their Christian faith and Christian Ethics, an incitement of the labourers also by the egoism of the religion of this world against the propertied classes, and consequently the danger of a *bellum omnium contra omnes*, an overthrow of all culture and civilisation. In the sphere of politics we meet with this idea: "All men have an equal right to govern. To govern is not to acknowledge and carry out God's will, but the will of the majority. Since man is good by nature, the will of the majority is infallibly good, and what may nevertheless be perverse is corrected of itself in the process of development. Hence universal suffrage." But experience has taught that men by nature are not good, but are possessed by the passions of greed, lust of power, vanity, and that fear of man which sacrifices conviction for fear of giving offence, and that election by universal suffrage is a mere farce, where the masses are lured and wooed by party leaders with ill-understood catchwords and phrases of the day, and led about as blind tools, with no will of their own, by the will of those leaders. In the department of journalism we meet with the following proposition: "Freedom of the press! Only let all untruth and poison be freely spread abroad! Truth can likewise be disseminated, and will thus surely gain the victory." Yes, truly, if it would be read! But not the truth, but the money turns the scale in deciding what sheets shall find the widest circulation. And if one succeeds after many sacrifices in founding and maintaining papers which oppose

untruth and afford an antidote to the poison, they are not read just by those who are most in need of such an antidote. Should one then be still obliged to prove what sort of influence the pantheistic falsehoods about the natural excellence of man and about sin as a self-correcting moment in the process of development exercises in the department of education and in our schools?—We stand over an abyss. Our national and civil life is disorganized by the perverse teaching of that antichristian system. A people that shuns the quickening influence and conscience-awakening witness of the gospel, loses the power of self-renewing and of continued existence, and mankind fallen away from Christianity passes down into utter corruption (Matt. xxiv. 28). Have we gone so far? It is still possible to recover lost ground. Still in our German people there is a remnant, not of millions, but of many thousands, who have not bowed their knees to Baal, this old god of pantheism, and who in the fear of the Lord exert all the powers wherewith God has endowed them in witnessing by word and deed against untruth, sin, and shamelessness, on behalf of the truth that man is a sinner and needs redemption, and that not egoism, but self-denying love, which endeavours first to secure the well-being of its neighbour and the community, and then afterwards its own, makes a people happy. God grant that this book may contribute its mite to the dissemination of this truth.

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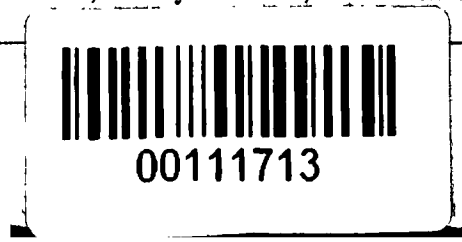
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